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RECENT IMPORTANT LITERATURE REGARDING THE CATHOLIC CHURCH DURING THE LATE RENAISSANCE PERIOD, 1500-1648

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In evaluating recent literature pertaining to the Catholic Renaissance regard must be taken rather to choice selection than complete coverage; furthermore, the period must be strictly defined, for the number of books that have been written is veritably immense. I shall therefore first of all restrict myself to the late rather than to the early Renaissance, i. e., *roughly* speaking from the beginning of the Protestant Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia (1500-1648); or to put it in another ecclesiastico-historical way, from the pontificate of Julius II (1503-1513) to Innocent X (1644-1655). I shall further restrict myself to the Catholic controversies arising from, and following in, the immediate wake of Protestantism; reaction taken to the Protestant Reformation by the Catholic or Counter-Reformation, e. g., by the Council of Trent with its re-affirmation and re-definition of traditional Catholic dogmas and practices, with corresponding condemnation of all new teachings opposed to such traditional doctrines; to certain controversies among Catholic scholars occasioned by the *capitula* and *canones* of the Council of Trent, e. g., those referring to the compatibility between the necessity of grace for every supernatural act and the required co-operation of man's free will for a meritorious act (*Congregatio de auxiliis gratiae*) under Clement VIII and Paul V, etc.

Even at its best this paper can only be an attempt at recording some of the outstanding literary achievements of the past twenty years, evaluating their merit and pointing the way to further, especially historical research and studies. Only in rare instances is an article, not published in book form, quoted.

I. GENERAL WORKS

A. Catholic Encyclopedias, "Dictionnaires," "Lexica"

A revised edition of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1st ed., 1907; reprints 1909; 1913; last supplement 1922) intended to be complete in ten volumes began appearing in 1933 (N. Y., The Gilmary Society) (Vol. I, A-Arg), but suddenly ceased publication. Other monumental Catholic encyclopedias which either saw their completion during the past two decades, or are nearing completion, are the excellent French *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, published by A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, continued by E. Amann (Paris, Letouzey, 1903-); the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* published by A. Baudrillart, A. Vogt and V. Rouzies (Paris, 1909-), now appearing anew under A. de Meyer et E. Van Cauwenbergh; the *Dictionnaire Pratique des Connaissances Religieuses*, published by J. Bricourt, (6 vols., Paris, 1925-28); and the *Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi Catholique*, published by A. d'Ales (Paris, 1911-). Undoubtedly the best *Catholic Encyclopedia* in German, at least in my estimation, since the appearance of Herder's now somewhat antiquated, yet always useful and frequently consulted Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon* (12 vols., Index, 1882-), is Buchberger's *Kirchliches Handlexikon*, (2 vols., Munich, 1907-12). It was recently recast in the form of the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* in ten volumes, and edited under the supervision of the same author, now Bishop, Dr. Michael Buchberger of Regensburg (Freiburg in Br., Herder, 1930-38). The articles, brief and to the point, plus important relevant literature are by the best known Catholic authorities in their various lines. The bibliographical articles are excellent.

Having predominantly Catholic contributors is likewise the Italian *Enciclopedia Universale Illustrata* which is now in progress (Milan, Vallardi, Vol. XI: Greco-Inv., 1937. 8vo, iv, 579p., 36 plates, 6 maps). In 1937, another important Italian encyclopedia on sciences, letters and arts saw its completion, viz. the *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* (Roma, Istituto dell' enciclopedia Italiana, 25 vols., illustrations, plates). From these two is to be distinguished the *Enciclopedia Italiana* published by Rizzoli, Milan.

The Catholics of the Netherlands, who undoubtedly publish the best Catholic daily newspapers on the Continent, if not in the whole world, have lived up to their reputation for solidity in their *Katholieke Encyclopedie* which is being published at Amsterdam. (By 1937 Vol. XV had appeared.)

B. Source Books, Documents, Readings, etc.

Regarding Catholic documents covering the Reformation and Renaissance period, scholars the world over will ever remain grateful to Pope Leo XIII for having thrown open in 1888 to the general public, under proper restrictions, the secret archives of the Vatican. The Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, however, are open to the public only down to the close of the pontificate of Gregory XVI (1846). Many of the documents of the Holy See were irretrievably lost during the Napoleonic invasion of the papal states and subsequent transfer (by horse and cart) to Paris. Although later most were returned, many were unfortunately lost during the course of the transfer back and forth.

The most important sources for the history of the Church and of the papacy during the Renaissance period are undoubtedly the *Bullaria Pontificia* or *Regesta Pontificia*, i. e., the collections of official pontifical documents emanating from the papal palaces (Lateran, Vatican, Quirinal, Avignon, etc.) either in complete or abbreviated editions (*Regesta*, i. e., summaries). Modern reprints of these documents are available only in such fragmentary collections for desk use as Henr. Denzinger, Johannes B. Umberg, S. J., *Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum* (Freiburg in Br., Herder, 1932). This collection of papal pronouncements affecting matters of faith and morals extends from the apostolic age to Pius XI. The last document quoted is dated December 24, 1931. Quotations, some complete, others more or less so, in the original Latin or Greek, include the decrees of the fifth Lateran Council (1512-17), the Council of Trent (1545-63) and of the last Ecumenical Council of the Vatican (1869-70). Important pronouncements by such famous Renaissance popes as Leo X, Pius V, Gregory XIII, Clement VIII, Paul V, Innocent X, Alexander VII, etc., are included. No Catholic theological student could afford to be

without this handy manual. A continuation for the Renaissance of Conrad Kirsch, *Enchiridion Fontium Historiae Antiquae* (4th ed., Freiburg in Br., Herder, 1923) (Didache: 80-90 A. D. to Paul Warnefrid, the Deacon, ca. 750 A. D.) and Silva-Taroucha's *Fontes Medii Aevi* (Rome, Gregorian U., 1930), would be highly desirable, since for later periods we have only a recent publication of papal documents of mostly legal tenure edited by Joannes B. Grasso, S. J., entitled: *Ecclesia et Status, De Mutuis Officiis et Juribus Fontes Selectae* (Rome, Gregorian U., 1939). Grasso's collection contains such important acts as the Bull of Alexander VI *Inter Caetera*, May 4, 1493, dividing the discoveries in the new world between Spain and Portugal;¹ the condemnation and excommunication of Henry VIII by Paul III, (1534); the condemnation and excommunication of Queen Elizabeth by Pius V (1570); likewise the teachings of Francis Suarez and St. Robert Cardinal Bellarmine (1542-1621) on the direct power of the pope over worldly princes and democratic forms of government. Similarly restricted in tone, i. e., of legal tenure is Angelo Mercati's *Raccolta di Concordati* (Rome 1910) referring to Concordats between the popes and the Christian governments accredited to the Holy See.

C. General Histories on the Papacy

(The lives, deeds and times of individual Renaissance popes will be found under "Biographies: Popes.")

a. Introductory Remarks; Introductory Source Books

Whereas much has been done as well in regard to the history of the papacy in general as to certain popes in particular, there is still a great opening for the complete publication of summaries of papal enactments, encyclicals, decrees, etc., (*Regesta*) that would offer these "acts" to the Christian world in a handy manual. In the introduction to his *Pontificia Americana* Donald Shearer² says only too truly: "Outside of the *Juris Pontificii* of De Martinis, few collections of papal documents for the modern and contemporary period have been printed. The only source collection of merit for the history

¹ Cf. *Washington News*, October 5, 1939, editorial page.

² *A Documentary History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1784-1884* (New York, Wagner, 1933; Vol. XI of *The Franciscan Studies*).

of papal relation with the new world is the work of F. J. Hernaez, S. J., *Collécion de Bullas, Breves y otros Documentos relativos a la Iglesia de America y Filipinas* (2 vols., Brussels, 1879)". This complaint, however, is true not only regarding the Americas but likewise other countries. Father Shearer points out that Jaffé's monumental *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* published at Leipzig, 1881, goes only to 1198-1304 (or to the beginning of the Avignon exile) (Berlin, 1874). At the present time the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* is publishing the *Regesta* of the popes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus far the *Registres* of Nicholas IV and of Honorius IV have been edited; also the *Lettres Communes* of Benedict XII and the *Registre* of Benedict XI and many others. The other official summaries of papal activities are restricted to particular countries. Something comparable to Paul Kehr's *Italia Pontificia* (Berlin, 1907), covering papal documents referring to Italy which emanated from the Holy See before 1198; Albert Brackman's *Germania Pontificia* (Berlin, 1904), covering the same period (i. e. up to the pontificate of Innocent III); and Novak's, *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana* (Prag, 1906) embracing the years 1207-1374, should be published regarding other countries, especially the documents pertaining to the Renaissance. Here there would be a real opening: the publication of summaries (*Regesta*) of the papal acts taken from the larger *Bullaria*, affecting the Renaissance. Religious Orders have indeed been careful to publish such *Bullaria* or *Regesta* regarding their communities, the best known perhaps being C. Eubel's (O. M. Conv.) famous "*Bullarium Franciscanum*" (7 vols., Vol. VII published at Rome; Typis Vaticanis, 1904); but this again goes only as far as the pontificate of Martin V (1431). The work was continued by Ulric Hüntemann, O. F. M., to cover the pontificates of Eugene IV and Nicholas V (1431-1455), New Series, Vol. 1, (Quaracchi, College of St. Bonaventure, 1929).³ But since that period, even in behalf of the Franciscan Order, nothing has been done excepting perhaps for a number of bulls or summaries thereof published by the continuators of Wadding's monumental *Annales Minorum*, which now, in the beautiful new edition, go as far as the year 1632 (pontificate of Urban

³ P. S. The publication of Vol. II. N. S. (1455-71) has just been announced (ib. 1939).

VIII, 1623-44 (Chiappini, Aniceto, O.F.M., *Annales Minorum: Ad Claras Aquas* [Quaracchi], 1931-34).

Similar *Bullaria* have been published by the Capuchins and Carmelites, etc., whereas the Jesuits are publishing many pontifical acts referring to their Order in the *Archivum Societatis Jesu*. Other new important papal source works are: Mercati's *Raccolta di concordati in materie ecclesiastiche tra la Santa Sede e la autorità civile* (Rome, 1919) and Mirbt's *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstums und des röm. Katholizismus*, (4th ed., 1924).

b. General Histories on the Papacy

During the past two decades a large number of important general histories of the papacy have been published.⁴ This phase of church history has been probably one of the best contributions of modern literature to the Renaissance period. Whereas we had in the original English or at least in good English translations such well known and frequently cited works as Hartman Grisar's *History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages*, (Eng. tr. by Luigi Cappadelta, in 3 vols., London, 1911-12); A. de Montour's *Lives and Times of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, from 590 A. D. (19 vols., St. Louis, Herder); and Cardinal Wiseman's *Recollections of the Last Four Popes and of Rome in Their Times* (London, 1858), etc., there was little to be had on the post-mediaeval and Renaissance popes until Baron Louis von Pastor began a few decades ago editing in German his now world famous *Geschichte der Päpste*.

Ludwig von Pastor died on September 30, 1928. At the time of his death twelve volumes of his monumental *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgange des Mittelalters* had been published. The thirteenth, which was to have brought his *History of the Popes* down to the close of the eighteenth century (Pius VI, d. 1799) inclusive, was left unfinished. Three years later it was published by the Jesuits, who had received permission thereto from Pastor's widow. The work covers the whole of the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods (Martin V, 1417-1431, to Pius VI, 1775-1799) and for years to come will be looked upon as the best history of the popes from a Catholic

⁴ Cf. G. B. Bornio, "Bibliografia di storia pontificale" in *Archivio della R. Società romana di storia patria* (Rome, I [1935], 261-94).

standpoint. Based on the secret Vatican archives, thrown open to him by Leo XIII, and supplemented by the treasures of other archives and the best secondary works which Pastor was able to consult personally, his life's work has merited the undying gratitude of historians of all denominations. This does not mean that the work is faultless,⁵ but it is the best that we have in its line for the present. Translations appeared in Italian,⁶ French, Spanish, English and other languages.⁷ The English edition, less bulky than either the original German or the Italian translations, will eventually cover about forty volumes. Up to the present time thirty-two volumes have appeared (1305-1700) and bear the title, Freiherr von Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* (St. Louis, Mo., Herder, 1891-1940). The translations have been done successively by F. I. Antrobus, R. F. Kerr, and Dom Ernest Graf, O. S. B., Monk of Buckfast. A recent announcement (August, 1939) made by the Jesuits connected with the Gregorian University, Rome, assures us that Pastor's original *History of the Popes* will be continued from the pontificate of Pius VI to the present day. Mann's and Pastor's histories, when completed, together with Grisar's, will thus round out an excellently documented and complete story of the papacy.

In 1933 Professor Seppelt of the University of Breslau, in conjunction with Professor Dr. Klemens Löffler, Director of the University Library at Cologne, published a very beautifully illustrated *Papstgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Kösel-Pustet, 1933, 919 illust., 21-35 thousand, pp. XII-547). While intended primarily for popular reading, the high reputations enjoyed by both of these Catholic authors make their work one of the best of recent date in the German language for handy consultation. The illustrations are not only selective but likewise classical. (New ed. ib. 1938; English adaptation by Frommelt; Herder, 1932).

The companion volume of these two in English and German is the Italian *Tutti I Papi* by Francesco Zanetti (Torino, R.

5 Cf. C. A. Kneller, "Einige Bemerkungen zu Pastor's Papstgeschichte," in *Theologisch-Praktische Quartalschrift* (Linz No. 88 [1935], 113-120).

6 *Storia dei Papi Dalla Fine del Medio Evo*, 16 vols. with supplement to I-III (Rome, Desclée, 1910-34).

7 For reviews, cf. Dutcher, etc. *Guide to Historical Literature* F 311 b; *Catholic Historical Review*, XXIV (April, 1938), 73 (covering vols. XXV and XXVI) and XXV (July, 1939), 184 (covering vols. XXVII-XXIX).

Beruti, 1933, 764 pages), one of the most delightful and humorous popular histories of the popes in modern times. Zanetti, a correspondent of the *Illustrazione Vaticana* (a bi-monthly illustrated periodical of the Vatican, begun in December 25, 1930), besides giving a summarized life of each pope has collected all the curiosities and anecdotes still current among the Romans pertaining to their various bishops down the centuries. The "pasquinate" or satirical verses of Pasquino on the popes of the Renaissance are all retold. With the lapse of time they have lost their sting of bitterness and only the human and humoristic aspect remain. Zanetti has done a great favor to posterity in preserving these charming verses which meant as much to the Romans of his day as our "limericks" mean to us today. Another Renaissance study is the excellent recent work on the papacy (a continuation of Franz Seppelt's History) entitled *Das Papstum in der neueren Zeit (1534-1789: Paul III to the French Revolution. Leipzig, J. Hegner, 1936).*

c. *The Papacy and the Catholic Hierarchy*

Of the greatest importance, especially for students doing research work, is the critical list of popes, cardinals, archbishops of various churches and dioceses throughout the Christian world. This need, as far as the Middle Ages were concerned, was filled by: Conrad Eubel, O. M. Conv., in his valuable *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* (3 vols., Münster, 1898-1910; 2nd ed. of I, Münster, 1913; of II, 1914; of III, extending from 1198-1591 A. D., 1923), and by P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Ratisbon, 1873, Supplement I, 1879; II, 1886).

But time and time again the complaint was heard by students consulting the Vatican Archives and Library that Eubel's and Gam's works should be extended to cover the appointment of bishops and other higher prelates after the close of the Middle Ages. This great need was partially fulfilled by Patrick Gauchat, O. M. Conv., who continued Eubel's important study in his *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi, sive Summorum Pontificum S.R.E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series e documentis Tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta, edita. Vol. IV: A Pontificatu Clementis PP VIII (1592) usque ad Pontificatum Alexandri*

PP VII, (1667). (Münster, Sumpt. et Typis Librariae Regenbergianae, 1935. 4to, xv, 415 pages.)

As the extensive title indicates this volume gives the names of all the popes, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops in every Catholic diocese throughout the world, elected, created, or appointed between the pontificates of Clement VIII and Alexander VII (1592-1667). It thus touches the essential parts of the Renaissance. The work was not only joyfully welcomed but highly praised by all historical students doing higher research.⁸

Although Father Gauchat, an American Conventual Franciscan, due to ill-health, has returned to the United States, his and Eubel's important researches are being continued by a German Conventual, Fr. Remigius Ritzler, now working in the Vatican Archives. Historical scholars throughout the world may thus entertain hopes of soon seeing the lists of bishops, etc., carried still farther down to our own times.

I would not hesitate to proclaim Fr. Gauchat's work as one of the outstanding source contributions to the study of the ecclesiastico-papal Renaissance published during the past two decades.

d. Recent Church Histories by Catholics covering the Renaissance

Of the many general histories of the Church, either written originally in English or translated into English, one or the other deserve special mention because the author specializes on our period by devoting an entire volume of a series to it. Thus the whole fifth volume of Thompson's translation of the original French edition of Mourret's *Histoire de l'Eglise* is devoted to the "Period of the Renaissance and Reformation" (St. Louis, Mo., Herder, 1930). Parsons devotes two volumes of his *Studies on Church History* to the Renaissance period. Although depending at times too much on Cantú's *General History*, his researches are, as a rule, profound and illuminating (New York, Pustet, 1906-07). The French and Germans

⁸ Cf. e. g. the excellent review by the otherwise sharp critic, Fr. Michael Bihl, O. F. M., in the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, Ann. XXXI, Tom. XXXI, (1938), 169-173.

have been particularly active in recent years in publishing histories of the Church, including, of course, the Renaissance period. Cardinal Baudrillart's *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1914) is an excellent modern contribution to the study of ecclesiastical history and geography.

During the past twenty years, several of the better known church histories in German have either been republished with appropriate revisions and additions, or have been translated into various languages. One of the best modern German works is Bihlmeyer's adaptation of F. X. Funk's *Kirchengeschichte* (3 vols., 3rd ed., Paderborn, 1934), which is excellently done and replete with both pertinent and up-to-date literature. Cardinal Hergenroether's *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* was re-edited in 1924-25 by Peter Kirsch in four volumes (4th ed., Freiburg in Br., 1925). One whole volume is devoted exclusively to the Renaissance. Hergenroether was one of the German scholars whom Leo XIII invited to Rome in 1883 when he threw open the doors of the Vatican Library to the world. The knowledge the Cardinal gained there is reflected throughout his work. The same Johann Peter Kirsch, in conjunction with Andreas Bigelmeier, Josef Greven, and Andreas Veit, edited a *Kirchengeschichte* of his own (Freiburg, 1931). Kirsch is sober in all his claims and his assertions are documented throughout. Knöffler's *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, which appeared in 1920 in the 4th edition, is still highly praised (Freiburg). Gustav Krüger's (Prot.) *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende* in four volumes appeared in its 2nd edition at Tübingen between 1923-31. It is held in sufficiently high esteem by German Catholic historians to be quoted by Dr. Franz X. Seppelt and Prof. Dr. Klemens Löffler in their *Papstgeschichte* (Munich, 1933) for its "*fachwissenschaftliche Literatur*." The Renaissance and Reformation period in Krüger's *Handbuch* was covered by Heinrich Hermelink.

The best church history to appear in Italian during the past two decades is L. Todesco's *Corsa di Storia della Chiesa* (Torino-Roma, 1922-30), the 4th volume, published in 1927, being dedicated entirely to the Church during the Renaissance and the Reformation.⁹

⁹ Last edition of I and II, *ib.*, 1937.

II. SPECIFIC RENAISSANCE LITERATURE AFFECTING THE CATHOLIC OR COUNTER-REFORMATION

A. *The Reformation from a Catholic viewpoint. Preliminary Remarks and Literature*

The story of the Protestant Reformation will naturally be treated quite differently by a Catholic and by a non-Catholic. The Catholic historian will stress the idea of continuity: doctrinal, traditional, hierarchical, papal, etc.; the non-Catholic, the need of reform in a morally decadent Church and that irrespective of ecclesiastical authority. The Protestant angle, in whatever sense one might take the term, is being treated by another collaborator.¹⁰ I give here only the Catholic viewpoint as expressed in recent literature. The literature on the Catholic reaction proper, irrespective of the Protestant Reformation, will follow immediately after these citations.

Following Gasquet's revised edition of William Cobbett's *A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland*, written between 1824-27 and published by Benziger Brothers (New York, 1897) with notes and preface by the later learned Benedictine Cardinal himself, Miss J. M. Stone's *Reformation and Renaissance* (New York, Dutton, 1904) and A. Baudrillart's *L'église catholique: la renaissance, le protestantisme* (Paris, 1904), translated by Mrs. P. Gibbs as *The Catholic Church, the Renaissance and Protestantism* (London, 1908), a series of lectures, probably no Catholic author—although at times bellicose—has been more prolific in describing Catholic life, the Protestant Reformation, penal laws and martyrdom for the faith than Hilaire Belloc, e. g., in his *Characters of the Reformation* (London, 1936), *How the Reformation Happened* (London, 1928 and 1933), *Europe and the Faith* (New York, 1939), etc. Other significant studies were: P. Forques' *Histoire du Christianisme* (Paris, 1936); C. J. Hayes, "Significance of the Reformation in the Light of Contemporaneous Scholarship," in *The Catholic Historical Review* (1931-32), 395-420; G. O'Brien's, *An Essay on the Economic Effects of the Reformation* (New York, 1923); Polman Pontren's, O.F.M., "*L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse*

¹⁰ Wilhelm Pauck, "The Historiography of the German Reformation During the Past Twenty Years" in *Church History*, IX (1940).

du XVI^e siècle" (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1932); A. Renaudet's *Le Concile Gallican de Pise-Milan. Documents Florentins (1500-1514)* (Paris, 1922); H. P. Smyth's *The Reformation* (Chicago, 1919); Carl R. Steinbicker's *Poor-relief in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, D. C., 1937); Cardinal Gasquet's *The Eve of the Reformation* (London, 1927); his *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (ib. 1925), and the many excellent articles by G. Constant. These give some of the Catholic angles.

B. The Council of Trent

No event in the Renaissance period was of greater importance to the Catholic Church for the dogmatic reassertion of her old doctrine and the final stabilization of the canon of sacred Scriptures than the Council of Trent, which after various postponements and delays finally convened in 1545 and successfully ended, after a few temporary transfers to other cities, in 1563. While many editions of the definitions and canons, as also histories of the sessions, had been repeatedly published,¹¹ not a few important works referring to the Council have appeared in recent times.

The best critical edition is undoubtedly that being published by the "Görresgesellschaft" in Germany, entitled *Concilium Tridentinum, diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatum nova collectio*, of which up to the present time twelve volumes have appeared (Freiburg in Br., 1901-38). Hefele-Leclercq's *Histoire des Conciles* received a welcome continuation in P. Richard's *Concile du Trente* (Paris, 1930-31). *The Dogmatic Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* were published by Devin-Adair in New York in 1912. G. del Monte contributed a history of the Council of Trent in his *Il Concilio di Trento* (Parma, 1935); K. Schmidt *Studien zur Geschichte des Konzil von Trient* (1925); whereas G. Gambarin re-edited *Fra Paolo Sarpi, Opere, III-V*: "Historia del Consilio tridentino" (Bari, 1931-35).¹²

Special features and phases of the Council were covered by H. Evernett in his *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council*

11 Cf. G. Wolf, "Die Literatur über das Konzil von Trient," in *Deutsche Geschichtsblätter*. XVIII (1917), 227-619; XIX (1918), 145-82.

12 Cf. A. Mercati in *Civiltà Cattolica* (1928, II, 527-32). Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent* is on the Index.

of Trent (Cambridge, 1930); by A. Maichle in his *Das Dekret: "De Editione et usu sacrorum librorum"* (1914) and *Das Kanon der bibl. Bücher u. des Konzil v. Trient* (1929); by H. Rückert (Prot.) *Die Rechtfertigungslehre auf dem Trident. Konzil* (1925); and by F. Willcox, *L'introduction des decrets du Concile du Trente dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, (Louvain, 1929).

The Roman Catechism of the Council of Trent (especially intended for pastors of souls) was published in a new edition by P. Paschini, *Il Catechismo Romano del Concilio di Trento* (Rome, 1923).

C. Post-Tridentine Philosophico-theological Controversies Concerning Catholic Doctrines

Although following the spread of the Protestant Reformation, which during the first half of the sixteenth century had developed the new theories of Lutheran justification by faith alone and of Calvinistic absolute predestination irrespective of either man's co-operation or responsibility; and although the Catholic Church had clearly defined in the Council of Trent her stand on such doctrines as grace, freedom of the will, necessity of human co-operation with God's illuminations of the intellect and inspirations of the will, the universality of God's *voluntas salvifica*, Catholic theologians were still divided¹³ concerning the explanation of the compatibility of man's free will with God's supreme dominion over man's destinies; concerning human responsibility and divine predestination or predilection; temporal meriting of an eternal beatitude; the vitiation of man's nature through original sin and man's responsibility before God to overcome the "concupiscence of the eye, the flesh and the pride of life" (John 2, 16) that had their origin by the original sin; the freedom of the will as re-inculcated by the Council of Trent and the irresistible efficacy of grace as stressed by the Thomists. We thus have those philosophico-theological controversies towards the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries between the Thomists and the Molinists; between the adherents of a stricter and of a laxer system of moral theology in a conflict between the choice

13 Cf. Jac. Lainez, S. J., *Disputationes Tridentinae ad Manuscriptorum fidem ed. et Commentariis Historicis instruxit Hartmanus Grisar, S. J.* (2 vols., Innsbruck, Rauch).

of conscience and a probable and most probable obligation by law; between the professors of the Catholic University of Louvain and the Catholic theologians of a papal commission in Rome; between Baius (1513-89), Jansenius (1585-1638), (1623-62) on the one hand and such popes as Innocent X (1644-55), Alexander VII (1655-67), Innocent XI (1676-89), and Alexander VIII (1689-91) on the other. Although the last three of these popes reigned in a later period than the one we are covering they were taking action against errors that had been conceived before their times and were still agitating the Church in practically all of Europe, but especially in the Netherlands and France, throughout their own pontificates. Jansenist errors, it is true, due to the repeated condemnations of Rome, in time ceased to be taught publicly, but the literature concerning these controversies did not cease to multiply down the centuries. Over 10,000 articles are said to have been written on the famous Bull "*Unigenitus*" alone. New subject matter has thus been practically exhausted.

Neither were the Thomist-Molinist controversies definitely settled in the famous *Congregatio de Auxiliis Gratiae* held under Clement VIII (1592-1605) and Paul V (1605-21), so that even today both schools, while trying to reconcile their teaching with the decrees of the Council of Trent, which both ardently defend, are as far removed from unified explanations of compatibility as they were at the end of the sixteenth century. Hence the literature of the past two decades on all of these and similar mooted questions. We are here interested, of course, solely in the historical, not in the doctrinal phases of these controversies.

a) *History of Dogmas*. Although Scheben's *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik* was printed as far back as 1873 (Freiburg in Br.), and S. Schwane's *Dogmengeschichte der neueren Zeit* as far back as 1890, there is nothing new on the market that can actually supplant them. Both books are classical and deserve translations into other languages. The nearest approach is Bernard J. Otten's, S. J., *Manual of the History of Dogmas* (2 vols., Herder, 1917). A few historical treatises on certain dogmatical questions have been published of late in various languages. I mention: J. Turmel, *Histoire des dogmes, VI: Le penitence, l'extreme-unction, l'ordre*

(Paris, Rieder, 1936); A. Tymczak, *De Ordine: historico-dogmatica Disquisitio* (Przemysl, Poland, 1936); Kwiatkowski, W., *History of the Primacy of the Papacy in Poland* (Warsaw, 1935)—printed in Polish; and Joseph Kern, S. J., *De Extrema Unctione* (Innsbruck, 1907), the first real modern study of the history, administration, and effects of this important sacrament.

b) *Thomistic-Molinistic Controversies*. Whereas all Catholic textbooks of dogmatic theology and Catholic Encyclopedias deal with these disputes, a few recent books treat of them explicitly and solely, e. g., W. Hentrich, S. J., *Gregor v. Valencia und der Molinismus* (1928); H. Lange, *De Gratia* (1929); C. G. Van Riel, *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Congregatio de auxiliis* (Berne, 1921); F. Stegmüller, *Geschichte des Molinismus, I: Neue Molina-schriften* (Münster, 1935); and Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P., *Predestination*, Eng. tr. by Dom Bede Rose, O.S.B., (St. Louis, 1939).

D. Asceticism and Mysticism

Following the gradual decadence of the "Age of Faith," i. e., the Middle Ages, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the decline of morals induced by the early Renaissance, a Catholic spiritual reaction which began asserting itself especially in France, Spain, and Italy just prior to the middle of the sixteenth century¹⁴ has continued down to our times. It would be wrong, however, to infer that there were no great saints, no important books of asceticism¹⁵ published throughout the early Renaissance, or that the common people as such, were not just as devout in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries as either before or after this time. The invention of the printing press did much to popularize religion through the easier acquisition of Bibles and books of devotion.¹⁶ Recent literature has dealt with these phases of asceticism, especially among the *intelligentsia* and the Religious of both sexes. One of the most important doctrinal and historical publications on the spiritual, ascetical, and mystical life, besides many others, is

14 Cf. *infra* under "Religious Orders and Congregations:" Capuchins, Jesuits, etc.

15 Cf. Gerard Groote, *The Following of Christ*, tr. by J. Malaise, S. J. (N. Y., The American Press, 1939).

16 Cf. A. Schrolt, "Das Gebetbuch in der Zeit der katholischen Restauration," II, in *ZKT*, 1937 (LXI), 211-257.

undoubtedly the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique. Doctrine et histoire*, Dir: M. Viller, F. Cavallera et J. de Guibert, Fasc. 5 (Paris, G. Beauchesne, 1935); Fasc. 6 (ib., 1937); Fasc. 7 (ib., 1937).

E. Indulgences

Closely allied with the occasion and beginning of Lutheran Protestantism was the matter of indulgences. The question was agitated throughout the sixteenth century. The Council of Trent took special pains to define its theological significance (Session XXV *De Reform.*) and curtail any abuses in the granting or gaining of the same. Two modern authors, both classical in their line, deserve to be mentioned: F. Beringer, *Die Ablässe*, (2 vols., 15th ed., edited by P. A. Stanen, Paderborn, Schöningh, 1921), which contains much historical matter, and N. Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, (3 vols., Paderborn, 1922-23), which is most important for a proper understanding of the indulgence controversies in Luther's time (1483-1546). Walter Koehler's *Ablassquellen* is also an important source-study on the question.

F. Canon Law

Whereas the Fifth Council of the Lateran (1512) failed to bring about the "*reformatio in capite et membris*" voiced so often during the fifteenth century at the Councils of Pisa (1407), Constance (1415), and Basel-Ferrara-Florence (1439 ff.), the Council of Trent did effect a Catholic reform that was both radical, effectual, and lasting. Canon law received therein a newer, greater, and wider significance. The old *Corpus Juris* was becoming antiquated as far as disciplinary measures and regulations were concerned. The Council of Trent rather revolutionized canonical legislation (erection of seminaries; obligation of clerical residence; abolition of useless laws, etc.). But even these provisions of the Council did not bring about complete uniformity of observance or clarity in apparent conflicting measures. A new codification, with proper regard for historico-canonical legislation was needed. Pope Pius X (1903-14) began the great work; Benedict XV (1914-1922) completed it in the new *Codex Juris Canonici*. Cardinal Pietro

Gasparri, former Cardinal Secretary of State under Benedict XV and Pius XI (1922-39), with the aid of the then Hungarian Benedictine Father, now Cardinal, Seredi, published in connection with the code the so-called *Fontes*, containing in chronological order all the papal pronouncements and decrees of Roman Congregations on which the legislations as contained in the Canons of the Code rest. This collection of historical documents is paramount. The Renaissance popes, of course, receive their proportionate share of citations. I quote *Codicis Juris Canonici Fontes* (Romae, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1923-35), of which, to date, nine volumes have appeared. These sources, as the title indicates, give the student the text of the pontifical documents on which each of the 2414 canons of the *Codex Juris Canonici*, ordered by Pope Pius X and promulgated (effective as of Pentecost, May 19, 1918) by Benedict XV, is based. The documents taken from the general councils, official pronouncements of the Roman pontiffs, and the decrees of the various Roman Congregations (*Concilia, Romani Pontifices, Curia Romana*) are not only legally but likewise historically speaking of the greatest importance. The world owes a debt of gratitude to the late Pietro Cardinal Gasparri and to the present Primate of Hungary, Justinian Cardinal Seredi, O.S.B., for their most important publications.

Contemporaneous documents—Papal Bulls, Constitutions, Decrees, Official Interpretations—are published in the official *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, which (since 1909) appears practically bi-monthly in Rome.

Intimately connected with the publication of the Code of Canon Law and the pertinent documents of the *Fontes* was the compilation of the *Catechismus Catholicus* by the same illustrious Pietro Cardinal Gasparri (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1930) which gives not only the digest of Catholic doctrine but likewise sources for the teaching of such doctrine. This Catechism is now being translated into all modern languages. The fact that so many of the decrees of the Council of Trent and decisions of the Renaissance popes on the question of Jansenism, Gallicanism, Quietism, Frequent Communion, etc., have been embodied in the Catechism shows its importance to the theological student of the Renaissance period. The Council

of Trent (1545-63), while not revolutionizing Catholic theology, certainly did clarify theological disputes, as occasioned and prompted by the Protestant Reformation, to such an extent that everyone will welcome this new documented handbook of Catholic doctrine. Whereas the *Catechismus Concilii Tridentini*, published by the order of the Council, gives and explains Catholic doctrines as inculcated by the Council of Trent, the *Catechismus Catholicus* amplifies that clarification by including all the definitions of the Renaissance and later popes. In this sense Cardinal Gasparri's Catechism signifies real progress. Besides the same Cardinal's canonical treatise on *De Matrimonio* (2 vols., Rome, 1932); Coronata's *Institutiones Juris Canonici* (5 vols., Torino, 1928-36); Capello's *De Curia Romana* (2 vols., Rome, 1911); Wernz and Gerster's *Jus Religiosorum* represent a few of the new contributions to Canon Law supplanting the older commentaries.

The new *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* being published since 1935 by Letouzey et Ane, Paris, fills a great need and deserves praiseworthy comment.

G. Index of Forbidden Books

If the *Fontes* show the foundations on which Catholic truth is based, the *Index of Forbidden Books* tells the enquiring historian and theologian on what it is not based. For that reason the Catholic Church publishes from time to time a list of books that she withdraws from her children and warns those not of her family where her doctrines are not to be found. There again the Renaissance has played an important rôle. Not only the Council of Trent but likewise the decisions of such Renaissance popes as St. Pius V, Clement VIII, Paul V, Innocent X, and Alexander VII, etc., have been important factors in stabilizing Catholic doctrines and stigmatizing contrary errors. Such official teachings are given in the *Codex* and *Fontes*—also in such books as Denzinger's *Enchiridion*, referred to in another place. Official stigmatization will be found in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. This index of forbidden books opposed or dangerous to Catholic faith and morals as best judged by the popes, is revised from time to time. The latest revision appeared in 1938 (Città del Vaticano, Tipografia Poliglotta). The 1929 edition has an important

explanatory preface by the illustrious and lamented Cardinal Merry del Val. The proscribed books are given in their original titles, the names of the authors (if known), with the corresponding decree and date of condemnation. This index is an all-important source of information. It is the Church's negative bibliography. The 1929 *Index* is replete with the proscription of Renaissance works on church history, especially those referring to Jansenistic errors.¹⁷

H. The Liturgy

The Liturgy of the Church has also its historical features. The sources of various rites and ceremonies; the national and religious practices of countries and dioceses where used; historical development, additions, changes, suspensions—all have played an important rôle on the stage of the Church which is its altar, the centre of all ecclesiastical worship. The abrogation of the Mass, of ecclesiastical ceremonies, of the cult of the saints, of the use of relics, statues and images by the various sects of the Protestant Reformation throughout the Renaissance and Reformation periods necessitated on the part of the Catholic Church a reindulgence of her fundamental liturgical practices and ceremonies; a correction of false or superstitious devotions on the part of the simple faithful; the abolition of all undue commercial interests in the adornment of the sanctuary of the Most High. In recent years a return to the old form of festive celebrations, style of vestments, decorations of altars, and architecture of churches has been accentuated. A reform of Church music was advocated and enforced by Pius X. Palestrina's (d. 1594) music, revived by Msgr. Perosi, leader of the Sistine Choir, Rome, is now supplanting the melodramatic compositions of Mozart and Verdi. The Benedictines (Solemnnes) composed a new hymnal (gradual, antiphony, vesperale, etc.) for church use.

The Renaissance delighted in gaudy display, gold decorations, and ornate musical compositions, which at times approached the theatrical. Recent popes felt a return to the simpler, more dignified, and less spectacular form of worship advisable,

17 Cf. E. Levi Marvano, *Libri Prohibiti del settecento* (Paris, Les presses françaises, 1933).

intending thereby not to offset the devotion of the faithful but rather to chasten and elevate it to a higher communion with and a fuller realization of the Church's mysteries. While universal, the movement was especially welcomed in Belgium, Holland, England, and in the United States.

a. I list here only those works which have some historical reference to the Renaissance period. Of primary importance are: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*. Dir., F. Cabrol et F. Leclercq, (Paris, Letouzey et Ane, 1935 ff.), and Stapper-Baier, *Catholic Liturgics* (Paterson, N. J., St. Anthony Guild Press, 1938.)¹⁸ The "Franciscan Educational Conference" devoted its twenty-first annual meeting held at Chateaugay, Canada, June 26-28, 1939, to the question of sacred liturgy (Washington, D. C., Capuchin College, 1939). The report contains eight papers and one symposium in four parts dedicated to the question of liturgy.

b. New important liturgical periodicals include the *Ephemerides Liturgicae* (E.P.), published by the Vincentians in Rome; *Orate Fratres*, published by the Benedictines of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minn.; *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, published annually since 1921 by O. Casel, a German Benedictine; *Analecta Hymnica*, published by G. Dreves and C. Blume, (55 vols., Leipzig, 1886-1922), and *Questions Liturgiques Paroissiales*, published in Louvain.

III. CATHOLIC MISSIONS AND MISSIONOLOGY

The modern literature on the missionary aspect of the Catholic Renaissance is immense and marks a new phase of Catholic literary activity. Two names stand out preeminently in this new science of Missionology: Professor J. Schmidlin, author of *Einführung in die Missionswissenschaft* (1917) and *Katholische Missionsgeschichte im Grundriss* (Steyl, 1925), and R. Streit (O.M.I.), *Bibliotheca Missionum*, who has given us the latest and best that can be found in missionary bibliography. Schmidlin's works have been temporarily halted, but there are others who are continuing the work along the same or similar lines, e. g. Arens, Freitag, de Mondreganes,

¹⁸ Rich bibliography, (340-366).

Montalban, and Pilchon. Regarding the missions in individual countries, the German Professor J. B. Aufhauser is looked upon as an authority for the missions in India, China, and Japan. Jann treated all three countries in their relation to the Portuguese patronage from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries (Paderborn, 1915); whereas Cordier has traced the history of China in its relations to the other foreign powers (4 vols., Paris, 1920-21). One of the best recent studies on the Catholic missions in Ceylon is by S. G. Prakaser (1505-1602) (Colombo, 1924). Goyau and Rigault have given us the best modern histories of the early Catholic missions in Canada. The Jesuit, Cuevas, has covered the story of the Church in Mexico in five volumes (Thaplan, 1921-28). Two new phases of Mexican church history not treated explicitly before refer to the *Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico* by Ch. B. Braden (Cambridge, 1931), and to the Spanish patronage in the conquest of the Philippines (1931) by F. J. Montalban, S. J. "Probably in all Church History," says Guilday, "no greater privilege was ever conferred upon a monarch than the *Real Patronato* of the Spanish crown as conceded to Ferdinand and Joanna in virtue of the Bull *Universalis Ecclesiae Regimini* of July 29, 1508, whereby according to Solórzano the kings of Spain were constituted the vicars of the Roman Pontiff."¹⁹ No chapel, oratory, mission, church, convent, monastery, or other ecclesiastical institution might be erected without the permission of the king as general *patronato*, or of his viceroy as *vice-patronato*. The power of the Spanish (and Portuguese) crown over the nascent Church in the Spanish-American colonies caused many ecclesiastical difficulties and seems, to a great extent, to have been the chief source of the later difficulties between the crown and the Jesuits in the administration and control of their various reductions in South America. It was the old story of the French "*Jus regaliae*" (*Regalienrecht*), or the claim of the king to the benefices of vacant sees, the filling of which was considered by custom a royal privilege, under a new aspect. The French and the Spanish claims might have been distinct, according to angle and prospective, but in reality it was the same evil under which the Church suffered for centuries—state control.

19 *A History of the Councils of Baltimore* (New York, Macmillan, 1932), 25.

IV: HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND CONGREGATIONS ESTABLISHED DURING THE RENAISSANCE PERIOD

Although the Catholic Counter-Reformation saw the foundations of many new Religious Orders and Congregations, Jesuits, Barnabites, Oblates of St. Francis de Sales, Ursulines, etc., the older Orders, founded before and during the Middle Ages, continued their activities in the Church, at home and in foreign mission fields as before the Renaissance had begun. Some of them underwent important reforms which eventually developed into independent communities, e. g. the Capuchins, the Reformed Carmelites, etc. Justice to these older Orders and Congregations would thus demand that some account be taken likewise of their ascetical, educational, and missionary endeavors; otherwise the picture would be wholly incomplete, all the more so since certain Religious Communities were able especially during the Renaissance period to unfold their activities in fields hitherto closed to them.

Besides the articles in various encyclopedias, frequently subject to adverse criticism, a number of new books on the history of Religious Orders in general have appeared within recent years. A. Cennio's work in Italian, *Gli Ordini Religiosi attivi e misti, ossia i loro fondatori, il loro scopo, le loro benemerienze, le loro opere* (Turin, 1937); N. Cottineau's *Repertoires des abbayes* edited in three vols. (Macon Protat, 1935-35); and George G. Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1923-27), are all valuable contributions; but besides Helyot's (d. 1716) well-known *Histoire des ordres* etc. Paris, 1714-19), M. Heimbucher's *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche* in 2 vols. (Paderborn, 1933) remains today the best known and most authentic of modern works.²⁰ It deserves to be translated into English.

A few special remarks regarding one or the other Religious Order founded during the Renaissance period deserve, due to their importance, to be made, e. g. regarding the Capuchins, the Jesuits etc.

A. *The Capuchins*, one of the three distinct families of the Franciscan Orders which have St. Francis as their founder,

²⁰ Rich bibliography in I, 33-60.

were organized as a special reform community by Matteo di Bassi and in 1528 received canonical approbation from Pope Clement VII. With the Jesuits, the Theatines, and other religious Orders, they formed one of the outstanding bulwarks of the Catholic Church against the inroads made by the Protestant Reformation. Down the centuries volumes have been written about this well-deserving Order and the men who made it famous. New literature was occasioned by the fourth centenary (1928) of the Order's first official recognition as a distinct Franciscan Family.

The Capuchins, like all human institutions destined for a divine work, have had their ups and downs, eminent saints and unworthy apostates, glorious missionary activities and dire persecutions from Catholics and heretics alike; learned scholars, national heroes, humble ascetics amidst a life of poverty, privations, and mortifications. This is perhaps best proven in the lives of their great men and in the development of their Catholic missions throughout the world. About 4,000 papal documents pertaining to the Capuchin Order will be found in the *Bullarium Capuccinorum* (Rome, 1740-52 and Innsbruck, 1883-84; volumes I-VII have material covering the years 1525-1740.)

Undoubtedly the best modern historian of the Capuchin Order was that literary genius, Père Eduard d'Alençon (d. 1928), who published his epoch-making *De Primordiis Ord. Fr. Min. Capuccinorum, 1525-1534* (Rome, 1921); French trans., *Les Origines des Frères Mineurs Capucins* (Gembloux, 1923); his *Tribulationes Ord. Min. Capuccinorum primis annis Pontificatus Pauli Tertii, 1534-41* (Rome, 1914), and his *Primae Legislationes Ord. Fr. Min. Cap. Textus Originales seu Constitutiones anno 1536 ordinatae et anno 1552 recognitae* (Rome, 1928). He is likewise the author of the excellent article on the Capuchins in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*.

Another recent and important contribution is the publication by Giuseppe da Fermo (Ancona, 1927) of Mario Fabbiani Mercatosaraceno's (d. 1581) first edition of the second history of the Order by that author. Fr. Mario wrote three different works on the origin of the Capuchins. All three are now printed in the *Relationes* of Melchior de Pobladora (Assisi,

1937), also published in Italian in *Monumenta Historica Ord. Min. Cap., I*. Fr. Bernardine of Colpetrazzo's *History of the Capuchin Order, I, (1525-1593)*, has just been republished by the Fathers at Assisi (1939). For a study of Fr. Bernardine of Colpetrazzo [1525-1529] cf. his biography by Fr. Melchior of Pobladura (Assisi, 1939.)

The best modern history of the Capuchins in English is by Fr. Cuthbert Hess, who in 1928 (London, Sheed and Ward) published his *The Capuchins: A Contribution to the History of the Counter Reformation*. (Goes up to about 1650; there is a German translation by J. Widlocher, *Die Kapuziner*, 1931). His work, like that of Fr. Anscar Zawart, *The Capuchins (1528-1928)*, published at Washington, D. C. in 1928, is based on the original documents published by d'Alençon. On the occasion of the fourth centenary of the Order, the *Liber Memorialis Ord. Min. Capuccinorum* (Rome, 1928) was published. It contains excellent studies by several of the most learned men of the Order at the time of publication.

A special important study on the Capuchins was Callaey Frédégand's *L'infiltration des idées Franciscaines Spirituelles chez les Frères Mineures Capuchins au XVI^e siècle*, an extract from the *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle* (Rome, 1924), 338-406. Works such as these by Fr. Callaey and Fr. Eduard d'Alençon have revolutionized the early history of the Capuchins.

CAPUCHIN MISSIONS

The Capuchin provinces and missions throughout the world, with short descriptive histories and statistics of each province and mission, have been excellently covered in the official publication of the Order entitled: *Descriptio Geographica et Statistica Provinciarum et Missionum Ord. Fr. Min. Capuccinorum (1528-1928)* (Rome, 1929). Clemente de Terzorio, a classical author on the Capuchin missions, has published *Le Missioni dei Minori Capuccini. Sumto Storico*. To date 10 volumes have been printed, (Vol. X; Rome, 1938). In 1926 the same author published at Rome his important *Manuale Historicum Missionum O. M. Cap.*, a Latin text of the history of the Capuchin missions, past and present.²¹

B. *The Jesuits*. Like the Capuchins, the Jesuits too cele-

21 An extensive bibliography covering the years 1566-1926 is given on pp. 461-481.

brated recently (1940) the four hundredth anniversary of the founding of their *Society of Jesus*. That happy event tended to enhance in a particular manner the already heavy list of recent publications on their Order.

No religious community founded during the Renaissance period did more to combat heresy at home, instruct the faithful in schools and colleges, or spread the gospel in foreign lands than did the Jesuits. They had outstanding members in practically every field in which they labored or which they developed: learned teachers, profound theologians, gifted orators, zealous missionaries, prolific writers. In fact, their fecundity in writing has tended in this short study to react rather as a barrier than as an assistance in doing justice to their literature published during the past twenty years. This is especially true of the hundreds of biographies written either by or about members of the Society.

If I were to signalize the greatest advance in documentary history in the Jesuit Order I would unquestionably accentuate the *Archivum Societatis Jesu* (ASI, published every quarter at Rome, Italy) and the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1920). Several new histories of the Order were occasioned by the fourth centenary of their founding or official approval (1540-1940).²² Among the many recent authors who wrote on the Jesuits, Bernoville (Paris, 1934) and Terrier (Porentruy, 1936) in French; Wiegand (1926) and Wolf (Breslau, 1937) in German; Rosa in Italian (Rome, 2nd ed. 1930); and Campbell (2 vols. New York, 1921, with rich bibliography), Goodier (London, 1930) and Ridley (London, 1938) in English, are the best known. Koch's *Jesuiten-Lexikon* (Paderborn, 1934) and Backer-Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jesus* (10 vols. Paris, 1890-1909; and 1911-31) are new and distinct contributions. Pastor too has written well and repeatedly of the Jesuits in his *History of the Popes*. Almost a hundred columns have been devoted to the Jesuits in the *Dictionnaire Theologie Catholique* (VIII, 1012-1108).

Further literary progress in matters Jesuitic has been noticed of late in the special attention given to the histories of

²² *The Historical Bulletin*, XVIII (March, 1940), No. 3, "The Society of Jesus: A Symposium," cf. *Cath. Hist. Review*, XXVI (1941), 433 ff.

individual provinces. I have run across sixteen such new provincial histories. Pietro Tacchi-Venturi's *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia* (2 vols., Rome, 1930-31), deserves particular attention because it is a marvellous panorama of religious life in Italy during the sixteenth century.

Many other particular studies in matters Jesuitico-historical, educational, and controversial, have been published of late by such famous men as Boehmer, Chastanay, Tacchi-Venturi, Fülöp-Miller, Récalde etc.²³ Hardly a general or particular phase of their missionary activities throughout the world has not been favored either with new studies or publication of new documents. Of general treatment is Arens' *Jesuitenorden und Weltmission* (Ratisbon, 1937).

C. *The Hospitalers or Brothers of Hospitality*, known in Italy as the "*Fatte Bene Fratelli*" ("Do good, Brothers!") were founded by St. John of God and approved by Pius V. Their history has been treated by J. Monval in *Les frères hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Dieu* in the collection, *Les grands ordres religieux* (F. XXII) (Paris, 1936). The special vow of the Hospitalers to harbor and care for the poor sick has recently been treated by G. Russotto, *Il voto di ospitalità dei Fatte Bene Fratelli* (Rome, 1933).

D. *The Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life* came into prominence in recent years as a result of new studies concerning the teachings of their founder, Gerard Groote, historically known as the *Devotio Moderna*. The whole question is intimately connected with the controversy concerning the authorship of the world-famous ascetical booklet, the *Imitation of Christ*. Whereas up to the present century Thomas à Kempis was generally looked upon as its author, Joseph Malaise, S. J., following others, in his new work, *Following of Christ—The Spiritual Diary of Gerald Groot (1340-1348)* (New York, 1937), believes he has definitely identified Groote as the author of at least the first three books of the *Imitation*. Only for the fourth book is à Kempis' authenticity maintained. For new phases of the disputed

²³ Récalde's *Historie intérieure de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après les documents, adapté du récent ouvrage espagnol de D. Miquel Mir* has been placed on the Index in virtue of a Decree of May 2, 1923.

question one should consult Albert Hyma, *Christian Renaissance, a History of the 'Devotio Moderna'* (New York and London, 1925); Monnoyeur, *Gerson, l'auteur de l'Imitation de Jesus-Christ, Precis documentaire* (Paris, Tequi, 1936), and W. Rademacher, *Mystik und Humanismus der 'Devotio Moderna' in den Predigten und Traktaten des Johannes Veghe. Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte Münsters um 1500* (Hiltrup, Missionshaus, 1935).²⁴

E. *Oblates of St. Francis de Sales*. St. Francis de Sales, Bishop of Geneva (1567-1622), has gone down in history not only as the inflexible opponent of the Calvinists and their harsh doctrines of absolute predestination, but likewise as one of the first ascetical leaders during the Renaissance to accentuate the possibility and necessity of leading a highly spiritual life, especially by women, in the world. Up to his time it had been universally conceded that to lead a higher ascetical life one must enter one of the already established religious communities. Francis de Sales sought to show that people who for various reasons could not or would not leave the world were nevertheless able to arrive at a high degree of sanctity while pursuing their normal obligations towards family and the state. He was undoubtedly influenced in his teachings by the already medieval Tertiary Fraternities of St. Dominic, St. Francis of Assisi, etc. Besides many new biographies of this lovable Bishop of Geneva and director of souls, the following new studies on the asceticism of the saint deserve more than a casual attention: Couturier, *A l'école de Saint François de Sales* (La vie intérieure pour notre temps) (Paris, 1937); S. François de Sales, *Entretiens, d'après les anciens MSS publiés par la Visitation d'Annecy* (Annecy, 1933); *Letters of St. Jane Frances de Chantel* (Germ. translation by E. Heine) (1927); *L'âme de S. François de Sales révélée par Sainte Jeanne Françoise de Chantel* (Annecy, 1922); Bordeaux, *Saint François de Sales et Notre Coeur de Chair* (Paris, 1924); English translation by Sister Benita, *Saint Francis de Sales, Theologian of Love* (London, 1929); Vincent, *Saint François de Sales, Directeur d'âmes* (Paris, 1923); Sisters of the Visitation, *St. Francis de Sales in his Letters* (London, 1934).

²⁴ J. M. E. Dols, *Bibliographie der Moderne Devotie*, I (Nimegen, N. V. Centrale Drukkerij).

F. *Renaissance Religious Orders and Congregations of Women*. Concerning these I would accentuate here only Dr. Richard Egenter's study of Mary Ward, foundress of the "English Ladies," entitled *Wagnis in Christo* (Regensburg, 1936);²⁵ Pierre Coste, Charles Baussan and George Goyau's *Trois Siecles d'Histoire Religieuse; Les Filles de de la Charité* (Paris, 1933); Dr. Joseph J. Mullen's study on scrupulosity with special reference to Bl. Louise de Marillac (Doctoral Dissertation, Cath. U. 1926); the new histories on the Ursulines founded by St. Angela Merici (1474-1540), occasioned by the four hundredth anniversary of their founding (1535-1935), by three anonymous authors (most probably Ursuline nuns) entitled: *Sainte Angele Merici et l'ordre des Ursulines* (2 volumes, Paris, 1922); *Beiträge zur Darstellung und Geschichte des Ursulinenordens* (Berlin, 1930); *St. Angela Merici and the Ursulines: 4th centenary (1535-1935)* (Brescia, 1936). The Ursulines were the first teaching order of women to come to the United States, and for that reason the story of *The Ursulines in New Orleans* (New York, 1925), by an anonymous author, and the following studies are of special interest to Americans: *Angele Merici and Her Teaching Idea* by Sr. M. Monica (London, 1927), and Sigrid Undset's "Angele Merici, Champion of the Women's Movement" in *Stage on the Road* (Knopff, 1934).

V. BIOGRAPHIES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The biographies of prominent Catholic persons of the Renaissance period comprise perhaps the largest of the six classifications into which this paper has been divided. A mere enumeration of the authors and titles of their studies would already exceed my limitations. The large number of international Catholic encyclopedias, lexica, and dictionaries recently published may be consulted with profit, for all of them contain bibliographies. Rev. Stephen T. Brown, S. J., in his new *International Index of Catholic Biographies* (London, 1935) has made a valuable contribution to Catholic literature. Besides the bio-bibliographical studies on prominent Catholics, the author has listed fourteen pages of "general biographical reference books" and twenty-one pages of "Catholic Collective

²⁵ Cf. my review in the *Catholic History Review*, XXIV (1938), 82.

Biographies" (15-35). Dutcher's *Guide to Historical Literature* (New York, 1937), especially the chapters on Bibliography (2-5), is a veritable fund of information.

In 1926 Father Pangerl published the fourth edition of the first volume of the still best Latin bibliography, Hurter's *Nomenclator Theologiae Catholicae Theologos Exhibens Aetate, Natione, Disciplina Distinctos* (6 volumes, Innsbruck, 3rd ed., 1903-13; I, 4th ed. 1926). In 1927 the Korff publishing house at Freiburg edited their valuable *Biographia Catholica* of 279 pages.

The literary world would welcome a complete bio-bibliographical source book devoted exclusively to Renaissance literature corresponding to Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* (New York, 1931), or Chevalier's *Repertoire des sources historiques du Moyen-Age* (Paris, Picard, 1905; 2nd ed. 1905-07).

In recent years much literature has singularly been devoted to the history of noble Renaissance families. Being a distinct modern contribution to an important topic—the lives and deeds of the men and women who held the destinies of Europe in their hands for centuries with alternating successes and failures—the new books will undoubtedly prove interesting. Of general interest is Rudolph Dimpfel, *Biographische Nachschlagentwerke; Adelexica; Wappenbücher* (Leipzig, 1922).

Although many biographies concerning Renaissance personages have been compiled of late, space prohibits me from treating specifically of any excepting the most prominent. Such a one was Jerome Savonarola (1452-98), concerning whom besides various new biographies by Schnitzer (2 vols., Munich, 1924); Wyck (London, 1926); Misciatelli, translated into English by M. Peters-Roberts (Cambridge, 1929), and Raeder (Paris, 1933), Joseph Urban Bergkamp's (O. P.) "Savonarola in the Light of Modern Research" in the *Catholic Historical Review*, XI (1925), is the most illuminating. It is an important evaluation of the literature that universally influenced the opinion of Savonarola's personality. To the point is also Pastor's study in his life of Pope Alexander VI²⁶ and Orestes

26 Cf. Msgr. Peter de Roo's *Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI, His Relatives and His Times* (5 vols., New York, 1926), an attempted vindication of this famous Pope.

Ferrara's recent vindication of "*The Borgia Pope*" (Eng. tr. by F. J. Sheed, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1940).

VI. HAGIOGRAPHY. LIVES OF THE RENAISSANCE SAINTS

The writing, editing, and publishing of the lives of the saints, blessed and venerable servants of God, has been greatly augmented during recent years, due to the large number of canonizations and beatifications performed in Rome by the late Pope Pius XI (1922-39) on the occasion of the three jubilee years of his fruitful pontificate. Centenary exercises commemorating the death of certain saints have likewise instigated and augmented the biographical sketches in their honor, e. g., the fourth centenary of the death of St. Charles Borromeo, etc.

The biographies of many of the Renaissance saints and blessed will be found in books treating of the legends of the saints in general, e. g., the Bollandists, Butler, etc.; or in general church histories (e. g. Pastor), particularly so if the saint or blessed was a person active in public life or greatly influenced the lives of others, e. g. a pope, a cardinal, a bishop or founder of a religious community. Unfortunately I can list here only a number of new general works on hagiography, martyrologies and lives of the saints.

A. General

Supplementing the large list of books on martyrs of the Church given in Brown's *International Index of Catholic Biographies* (London, 1935, 28, "Martyrs"); in the *Dictionnaire Hagiographique* (Paris, 1850), and by the Bollandists' *Vitae Sanctorum*, of which to date three editions have appeared: 1) the original in 67 folio volumes; 2) the Venice edition (1734-70) ending with the fifth volume for September, and 3) the Paris edition (1863-70) edited by Carnaudet and published by Palme, I list primarily the *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vols. 1-53 published at Brussels by the Société des Bollandists (1935); and the *Lives of the Saints* originally compiled by A. Butler and republished, augmented and revised by F. Thurston and O. Attwater, of which the last volume (Vol. XII) December, has just been edited (London, B. O. & W., 1939). (They may also be had through American publishing houses, e. g., N. Y., Kennedy, 1940; thirteen volumes, one

for each month of the year, plus index volume). Other important hagiographical collections are: *The Book of Saints* by the Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate; J. Baudot, et Chaussin, *Vie des saints et des bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier avec l'historique des fêtes*. T. 1: Janvier (Paris: 1935) in-8 vii 633 p.; and F. G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* (St. Louis, 1924).

Of the individual saints according to nations I select only those of England. The number of English saints and martyrs (over 600) was greatly augmented as a result of the Anglican persecution of non-conformist Catholics and their subsequent beatifications and canonizations by Leo XIII, Benedict XV, and Pius XI. Sixty-four martyrs were declared blessed by decree of Leo XIII on December 23, 1886, and May 14, 1895, and by Benedict XV on May 23, 1920. The cause for beatification of another group of 252 venerable servants of God was introduced by the decree of Pope Leo XIII on December 9, 1886. On December 15, 1930, Pius XI beatified 137 of these²⁷ and on May 19, 1936, canonized Sts. John Fisher and Thomas More. These solemn ecclesiastical acts and functions naturally elicited a large number of biographies on the blessed and saints thus honored by the Church. After giving a brief list of new general works on all of the English martyrs I shall select only St. Thomas More for detailed consideration, he, next to St. John Fisher, being among the more prominent.

B. General Works on the English Martyrs.

- 1) Dom. Camm, O. S. B., *The Lives of the English Martyrs*, 1st series; 2 vols. (London, 1914);
- 2) Bishop Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics that suffered Death in England from 1577-1684*, new ed. by J. H. Pollen, S. J. (London, 1923);
- 3) *The Martyrs of Tyburn* by the Nuns of Tyburn (ib. 1928);
- 4) *The English Martyrs*, pamphlets bound in volume (London);
- 5) Cel. Testore, S. J., *Il Primato di Pietro difeso dal Sangue dei Martiri Inglesi* (Isola del Liri, 1929);

²⁷ Cf. Testore, *Il Primato Spirituale de Pietro Difeso Dal Sangue Dei Martiri Inglesi* (Isola del Liri, 1929); and the article on "Martyrs, English" in the *New Catholic Dictionary* (London, 1929); cf. pp. 600-604, for complete list.

- 6) Wilmot-Buxton, *A Book of English Martyrs* (London, 1915);
- 7) C. Testore, *Il Martiri Gesuiti d'Inghilterra e di Scozia* (Isola del Liri, Macioce et Pisani, 1934).

C. *St. Thomas More* (Lord Chancellor of England, Martyr, 1478-1538).

N. B. Due to the large number of modern biographies and magazine articles of every description on this famous English martyr, I list here only certain outstanding English biographies. I omit all humanist and literary studies on the Saint, e. g., on his *Utopia*, his letters to Erasmus, etc., as pertaining to another field; likewise for the same reason, an enumeration and evaluation of his works.²⁸

Important are the biographies by Harpsfield and Roper, viz: Nicholas Harpsfield, *Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, ed. from MSS. with collations, textual notes, etc., by Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock; introd. by R. W. Chambers (Early English Text. Doc. Orig. Ser. no. 186) (Oxford U. Press, 1932); W. Roper, *Life of Sir Thomas More*, ed. Hitchcock (Oxford, 1935), and William Roper's *The Life of Sir Thomas More, Knighte* (London, 1935). Other modern biographies were published by H. Cecil (London, 1937); R. W. Chambers (London, 1937, and New York, 1935) (the standard modern work). R. W. Smith's (Vice-Rector of the English College in Rome) *John Fisher and Thomas More, Two English Saints* (London, 1935) (foreword by the Archbishop of Westminster, Arthur (now Cardinal) Hinsley), is an excellent study. Thomas Stapleton (London, 1928) re-edited the important Part III of the *Tres Thomae*, first printed at Douai in 1588. It was translated into English by Monsignor Philip E. Hallet (New York, 1928), the English Vice Postulator of the Cause of the canonization of Blessed John Fisher and Blessed Thomas More. Finally, *The Fame of Sir Thomas More* is a symposium by the foremost English Catholic writers of our day (London, 1929).

Other studies and publications of works are: *St. Thomas More, English prayers and treatise on the Holy Eucharist*, ed.

28 Cf. Poppy-Martin, *Survey of a Decade* (St. Louis, 1935), 729-30.

by P. E. Hallett (London, 1938); *Sir Thomas More, Four Last Things*, ed. by D. O'Connor (London, 1935); and a symposium of articles in *Clergy Review*, IX (1935), 358 ff.

CONCLUSION

A casual survey and retrospect of the foregoing paper will reveal beyond the shadow of a doubt that much has been done in the literary field concerning the Catholic Church during the Renaissance period. If I were to single out the greatest literary contributions of the past two decades, I would unhesitatingly say that honor belongs to the field of biography, and in particular to hagiography. Thurston-Attwater's new critical edition (13 vols.) of Butler's *Lives of the Saints* is a valuable and veritable fund of information. English and French schools have blazed the trail in this regard. Perhaps this phenomenon is best explained by the opportunities given and the demands made for hagiographical biographies by such zealous popes as Pius XI and Benedict XV as a result of their many beatifications and canonizations. However, hagiography is not the only field of biography that has been profuse and fertile. If I had the space and the assignment, I could have easily added over a hundred more biographies on individual Catholic saints, kings, queens, princes, statesmen, military geniuses—all of which had to be replaced in my files for some other occasion. The same is true of the general histories of Europe and America in which the Renaissance period, like indeed all other periods, is treated. These, too, had to be omitted, although all of them in some form or other treat of Catholic events, particularly so if written by Catholic authors.

Much, too, has been done in the general histories of the Church and in the general histories of the papacy. Ludwig, Freiherr von Pastor, has undoubtedly given a great impetus to papal histories written from original documents, properly evaluated and commentated, as foreshadowed by that other great historian, Ranke, even though the latter's presentation of events has not always been found acceptable to the Church. Americans are often, and not entirely without reason, accused of generalizing too much. However, if that accusation were ever true, it is being remedied; for the greatest contributions to our American literary standards within the past twenty

years have been exactly in the field of research and particular studies, especially in the degree-dissertations of our colleges and universities. European scholars who are so free to criticize American literary productions must not forget that they possess the original documents, the great medieval and renaissance libraries, and walk among the very monuments erected during these periods.¹ Americans must not only cross the ocean, but likewise find means to exist during their "study periods" on European soil. Have European scholars done as much for American history as we Americans have done in a field that is primarily European?

In the section on Religious Orders and Congregations, I would point out as a distinct contribution, besides the new *Bullaria*, *Archiva*, *Monumenta*, and *Analecta* of the various Communities; the special studies on their individual provinces (particularly so by the Jesuits and Capuchins); new histories of practically all the Orders, etc.; the reprinting and reediting of Wadding's *Annales Minorum* by the Franciscans of Florence, and of his *Scriptores*, as amended by Sbaraglia and reedited by Nardecchia-Chappini (Rome, 1906-36); in the section of hierarchical studies Patrick Gauchat's continuation of Eubel's *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*; in the field of missions Dr. Schmidlin's and Streit's studies in missionology; in Canon Law, besides the new *Codex Juris Canonici*, Cardinal Gasparri's and Seredi's edition of the *Fontes*; in the general field of Catholic encyclopedias, the *Dictionnaire de le Theologie Catholique*, expressing at the same time an ardent desire to see the new and revised edition of our *Catholic Encyclopedia*, of which to date only one volume has been published, brought to a happy conclusion within the next few years.

But while praising what has been done, we must not be blind to what has been neglected. There are no Catholic English manuals on missionology, to my knowledge. There are no recent English biographies peculiar to such interesting Renaissance popes, as Popes Pius V, Gregory XIV, Sixtus V, Clement VIII, Urban VIII, or Innocent X. An English history of Renaissance popes based on, but not translated from Pastor's *History of the Popes*, written along the lines of Cardinal Wiseman's *Recollections of the Last Four Popes and of Rome in Their Times*, would be a profitable undertaking by a

researchful student. We need a new English history on Religious Orders and Congregations. Bishop Currier's is antiquated. Heimbucher's *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche* (2 vols., Paderborn, 1935) deserves an English translation. The Catholic student in our colleges and universities would welcome a good selection of purely ecclesiastico-historical documents along the lines of Robinson's *Readings in European History*, Robinson and Beard's *Readings in Modern European History*, and Laflan, Reddaway, and Butterfield's *Select Documents of European History*. We have indeed Denzinger's valuable *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, but it is primarily dogmatic in character. Too many of our Catholic church histories are translated from the French and German and, because of that, give too scanty an account of religious occurrences here in the United States. This may sound as a challenge, but, generally speaking, European historians seem to know less about American important events than American scholars know about European affairs. We need a Catholic church history written by an American who knows and can evaluate the European background of American history. Jones and Sleman have recently edited a history in biography: *Modern World Setting for American History* (Boston, 1939), intended primarily for the higher elementary grades or junior high schools. We could use a church history with this or a similar sub-title, verified throughout the book: "European and Pontifical Background of Catholic Church History in America." The symposium on recent Renaissance literature will undoubtedly stimulate new researches, new studies, and new publications. The "Committee on Renaissance Studies" sponsored by the "American Council of Learned Societies" is to be congratulated on the great initiative it has taken and the stimulation it has offered. May the tree it has planted continue to bear further fruit!

JOHN COTTON AND ROGER WILLIAMS: THEIR CONTROVERSY CONCERNING RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

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Many people in the United States today feel that England is fighting a battle that is also their own. The English people, on the other hand, note with great satisfaction and gratitude the sympathy that the United States displays for their life and death struggle. A similar mutual interest existed between the American colonies of the seventeenth century and the England of the age of the Revolution. We have only to look at the many impassioned controversies on both sides of the Atlantic. They tell us a lively story of the exchange of ideas between Old and New England. Robert Baillie, Samuel Rutherford, William Twiss, three outstanding members of the Westminster Assembly, engaged in long arguments with John Cotton on various problems of doctrine and church government. John Cotton and other New England ministers in long pamphlets answered any reproaches of heresy made by the English or Scotch Presbyterians. It is safe to say, furthermore, that the controversy between John Cotton and Roger Williams, with which we are here concerned, would never have been started without Williams's participation in the debates of the Long Parliament in 1643/44.

Roger Williams was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635 for political and religious reasons, but he did not publish his first pamphlet against John Cotton until 1644 when he was in England to secure a charter for his colony. Quite a number of tracts followed from both sides.¹ All these pamphlets were published during the sessions of the Long

¹ *Letter of John Cotton (1645) and Roger Williams' Reply* (London, 1644); John Cotton, *Master John Cotton's Answer to Master Roger Williams* (London, 1644); Roger Williams, *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution . . .* (London, 1644); John Cotton, *The Controversy concerning Liberty of Conscience* (London, 1646); John Cotton, *The Bloody Tenent washed and made white in the Blood of the Lamb*, (London, 1647); Roger Williams, *The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody* (London, 1652). All these pamphlets are published in modern editions by the Narragansett Club, which are used here except for Cotton's "*The Bloody Tenent washed . . .*" which we quote from the original edition.

Parliament or the Westminster Assembly². This fact shows clearly the relation to happenings in England, which brought forth this controversy between Cotton and Williams.³

In 1644, the year when Roger Williams published his first attack on John Cotton and the Massachusetts Bay Colony, developments in England had brought a capitulation of the Long Parliament to Scotland. The Presbyterian ministers were leaders in the Westminster Assembly. There they found strong opposition from two groups: the Erastians and the Independents. John Selden, the leader of the Erastians, tried to influence the debates in favor of the authority of the state which, in his opinion, should exercise its power also in the church. The Independents represented the Congregational way of church government, which was also the New England way. In the "Apologeticall Narration" they demanded tolerance for their group under the Presbyterian leadership. They thus provoked, as W. K. Jordan has called it, "the most acrimonious and perhaps the most important religious controversy that England had ever experienced."⁴ They did not, however, extend religious liberty to all sects. This position was not taken until after the Independents had won overwhelming influence in the army. Then it was the army and not the group of Independents around Thomas Goodwin who fought for religious liberty for all creeds.

John Cotton was on the side of Thomas Goodwin and his group. He had full sympathy with their plea for tolerance and he may have recalled, in this connection, his own position in England not long before. Roger Williams, on the other hand, fought side by side with the left wing Independents who were represented in Parliament by his friend Henry Vane. His experience with the Bay Colony and John Cotton seemed a good warning against the intolerant tendencies of the Long Parliament.

Roger Williams's foremost argument against persecution

2 Cotton, Hooker, and Davenport were invited to take part in the Westminster Assembly, but they declined. See Perry Miller, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts* (Cambridge, 1933), 276.

3 On the same subject, see Henry Bamford Parkes, "John Cotton and Roger Williams Debate Toleration, 1644-1652," in *New England Quarterly*, IV, 735-56. Parkes emphasizes the medieval features in Cotton.

4 W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England, from the Convention of the Long Parliament to the Restoration, 1640-1660* (Cambridge, 1938), 51-52.

was in the same spirit as that which in the sixteenth century moved Sebastian Castellio to revolt against John Calvin: no human being had any right to interfere with the personal conviction of another. This principle was to be applied to the sovereign and his people as well as to the members of a family: "Now in families suppose a believing husband has an unbelieving antichristian wife, what other charge in this respect is given to an husband (I Cor. 7) but to dwell with her as an husband if she be pleased to dwell with him: but to be so far from forcing her from her conscience into his, as that if for his conscience sake she would depart he was not to force her to tarry with him. . . ."⁵ He accused the leaders of the Bay Colony of persecution for conscience' sake. Roger Williams's concept of conscience was subjective since he laid great emphasis on the fact that each person had the right to decide freely on what he believed was right or wrong, true or false. On this point he had already come in conflict with John Cotton.

In the course of his controversy with Roger Williams, John Cotton repeated again and again that if ever anyone had been persecuted, it had been done because he or she had sinned "against conscience." "And if anyone persists (after once or twice admonition) it is not out of conscience, but against his conscience . . . he is not persecuted for cause of conscience but for sinning against his own conscience."⁶ We can only sin against our conscience if our conscience is related to something outside of our soul. In Cotton's opinion our conscience, with which all human beings are equally gifted, had to act as a willing receptacle for religious truth. Whoever would read the Bible or follow teaching of the Holy Scriptures with such a readiness could find religious truth. Religion was a common and objective cause and not a matter of conviction as Roger Williams wanted it. Still the question had to be answered. Who had the authority to say: I know the truth?

It was the belief of the Middle Ages that the Church preserved the tradition of truth. The Reformation of the sixteenth century had destroyed this assumed authority of the Church. Luther and Calvin had this in common that they both recommended the Bible as the only source of truth. They also agreed

⁵ *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, 24

⁶ *The Controversy concerning Liberty of Conscience*, 7-8.

on the point that the Holy Scriptures contained both essential and less essential truths. They had, however, different opinions in regard to the interpretation of certain symbols that were found in the Bible. Since neither Luther nor Calvin could live without the conviction that they possessed a true knowledge of the Bible, they must both insist that their interpretation was right.

As pupils of Calvin, the Puritans believed that the Bible was the only source of religious knowledge. Moreover, the minister, ordained by the will of God, had the authority to teach religion, and to convey religious truth to the people. The Presbyterians in the Westminster Assembly and John Cotton in New England drew, for that matter, from the same intellectual tradition.

Another feature of the Middle Ages represented by Thomas Aquinas that is important in our connection was the subordination of philosophy to the rules of theology.⁷ This unity of faith and reason was presently dissolved by the followers of the Reformation. This result, however, was not reached by the great reformed churches but by the sects, the "stepchildren of the Reformation" as they were called by Ernst Troeltsch. They submitted the finding of religious truth to the reasoning of our intellect, admitting thus the possibility of error. Tolerance was a logical conclusion from their viewpoint. The sects carried these ideas into the seventeenth century, when Descartes finally completed, in his philosophy, the emancipation of the intellect from the laws dictated by theology. John Cotton belonged to the age of Descartes. Therefore he could say: "In Philosophy no distinction is to be allowed which Reason does not confirm. In Theology what has not evident foundation in the Scriptures themselves what is not native and taken out of them is to be held counterfeit and adulterate."⁸ Cotton coördinated philosophy and theology and understood them as intellectual disciplines of identical value. That was certainly different from the argumentation of the Middle Ages when philosophy was considered "*ancilla theologiae*." I do not think that the unity of knowledge that Perry Miller finds so characteristic for the Puritan mind in

⁷ See Karl Heim, *Das Gewissheitsproblem in der systematischen Theologie bis zu Schleiermacher* (Leipzig, 1911), esp. 176.

⁸ *Some Treasure fetched out of Rubbish* (London, 1660), 19

"seventeenth-century Boston" and which he compares with the same unity of mind in "thirteenth-century Paris" was quite as strong in John Cotton.⁹ John Cotton certainly knew that men were gifted with different means of acquiring knowledge. However, "supernatural instruction," a means to acquire religious knowledge, and "natural reason" were strictly separated. In regard to ceremonies he pointed out: "But natural reason cannot determine what ceremonies significant are meet and fit to be used in the solemn worship of God; for man has neither power nor authority to bless, nor liberty to annex any such forged or devised signs to the Holy Institution, nor wisdom to discern what is fit and acceptable in that kind."¹⁰ There was a chance for tolerance in matters religious only when the judgment of our reason could be also applied to the Bible. John Cotton did not go this far. He did not allow himself to doubt the words of the Bible and he argued that reason had no place when the Holy Scriptures spoke to us.

Sebastian Castellio once asked Calvin how he could assume to be the only judge in religious problems. Roger Williams answered John Cotton that the truth in which he believed was simply his way of interpreting the Holy Scriptures: ". . . would not master Cotton conscientiously be persuaded of the Truth of what he held, though accounted by others fundamental error, obstinacy, heresy etc. . . ."¹¹ On another occasion Williams called truths "inventions" of doctrine or worship by certain individuals.¹² He followed in the footsteps of the sects who had denied any binding truth. Like them he saw religious knowledge changing with each new generation and age. On this basis, of course, neither admonition nor persecution was possible. Roger Williams did not draw a line between religious knowledge and knowledge acquired by reasoning. He reached a certain unity of the human mind but on another basis than that of the Middle Ages. His unity of the human mind was characteristic of the seventeenth century. It led gradually to the enlightenment of the eighteenth century, when reason and faith became identical. Thus "supernatural instruction" which for Calvin, the Puritans, and John Cotton

9 Perry Miller, *The New England Mind* (New York, 1939), 107.

10 *Some Treasure fetched out of Rubbish*, 25

11 *The Bloody Tenent still more Bloody*, 67

12 *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, 63. See also James Ernst *The Political Thought of Roger Williams* (Seattle, 1929), 178-179

was a means of finding religious truth, was eliminated. It is quite true that Roger Williams's world outlook was richer and poorer than Cotton's. It was richer because he respected the tremendous variety of ideas that makes the road towards truth so exciting and stimulating. It was poorer because he was lacking in much of the inward religious experience that John Cotton shared with the Anabaptists. Robert Baillie could, therefore, with some justification identify Cotton with this sect which he hated like a bitter enemy.¹³ On the other hand, he did great injustice to Cotton because he never dreamed of accepting any of their revolutionary conclusions.

It must also be stated that Roger Williams belonged to the seventeenth and not to the eighteenth century. He had not yet reached that stage where religion became *ancilla intellectus*. He had a very high opinion of the value of religion in human lives. He wanted his faith so pure that he regarded the Church as a community remote from the other world.¹⁴ We come here-with to another important point of his controversy with John Cotton. The Presbyterians also discussed with Cotton the question of what kind of believers a church congregation should receive as members. The parable of the tares could furnish them an answer.

In the seventeenth century the parable of the tares had a long and complicated history behind it. Roland H. Bainton has pointed out that Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Luther, Calvin, and others have struggled greatly to find a right understanding of this parable.¹⁵ The interpretation of the "tares" has an important bearing on tolerance or intolerance in the Church. As a "proof-text for religious liberty" it was also used by Roger Williams and John Cotton.

Roger Williams compared the Church with a garden where weeds had no place: "And yet the finest weeds, counterfeits, and whores are unsufferable in the Garden, in the Commonweale, house and bed of Christ."¹⁶ Like the Anabaptists, he had a church congregation in mind that was a community

13 See *A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time . . .* (London, 1645), 57

14 Johannes Kühn, *Tolcranz und Offenbarung* (Leipzig, 1923), in a chapter on Williams emphasizes also this point; see 168.

15 "The Parable of the Tares as the Proof Text for Religious Liberty to the End of the Sixteenth Century," *Church History*, I (1932), 67-89.

16 *The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody*, 118.

of regenerated persons.¹⁷ That was also the reason why Roger Williams fought so vehemently for the separation from the Church of England, a point that Cotton could never understand.¹⁸ The tares for Williams were neither hypocrites, discovered or undiscovered, nor moral offenders in the church, because they had no place in the church at all. Roger Williams would not feel any obligation to unite in a congregation with Christians who did not share his religious conviction. He would not call them tares in the sense that they were unholy believers, but in the sense that they did not belong in his garden. Roland H. Bainton in his already mentioned article on the Parable of the Tares asserted that "the liberal party invariably made appeal to the parable of the tares"¹⁹ against persecution. Roger Williams did not make use of the parable that way. He would not plead with the liberal party for tolerating the heretic because he had not at all this concept of the "heretic." He wanted his church pure and therefore rooted out from his garden what would be weeds for him. By this means he thought to avoid persecution. But he would not object and he did not object to congregations in his colony that were independent from his church and differed from his religious opinion.

The complicated religious situation of the seventeenth century is shown by the fact that Cotton raised his voice in defense of the tares. "We deny that it is necessary to the admission of members that everyone should be convinced of the sinfulness of every sipping of the whore cup, for every sipping of the drunkard's cup is not sinful."²⁰ It seems still more curious that Rutherford reproached Cotton for extending grace even to the Arminians. Cotton answered him: "As for those of whom Mr. Rutherford speaks prophane atheists, scandalous mockers, dissembling hypocrites, we are so far from the Arminian doctrine to extend universal grace to them, that we would not extend to them the common grace of external

17 On the Anabaptists, see Roland H. Bainton, "David Joris, Wiedertäufer und Kämpfer für Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1937), 8.

18 The question of a possible separation from the Church of England was, of course, of the greatest importance for the Puritans in seventeenth century Massachusetts. But for us who try to interpret Roger Williams's religious outlook, it appears only as a by-product of his fundamental concept of the Church.

19 *Church History*, I, 68

20 *Letter of John Cotton and Roger Williams' Reply*, 19

fellowship in the visible Church, if we discerned them evidently to be such."²¹ The last few words of this quotation throw some light on Cotton's viewpoint. Since men are not always able to distinguish hypocrites as such, we have to admit that our churches have wheat as well as tares as members. This was true only of the visible church. There existed for him also an invisible church composed of regenerated persons of whom Christ was the head. Many are called into the congregation of the external and visible church, but "few are chosen and of the invisible church."²² Cotton's authorities for the interpretation of the parable of the tares were Augustine and especially Calvin whom he quoted as having interpreted the wedding garment and the famous guest as the Church of Rome and the pope, "the head thereof who by the oscitancy of the servants took up so great a room at God's table in the Church, that in respect of him all the other Christian Guests in the world were but few. And so our Saviour's accommodation of the Parable is fitly inferred, many are called, but few are chosen." Ernst Troeltsch has already called our attention to the fact that the conception of the Church in the great reformed churches had two different aspects according to the complicated character of human life.²³ The one, the visible church, made all allowance to human weakness whilst the invisible church was thought to realize spiritual purity. The sects, however, striving for spiritual purity, recognized only the invisible church and so did Williams. Cotton who followed the road prescribed by the great reformed churches proved to be a purer Calvinist than Williams, but for the same reason he was not the most typical Puritan. We have to realize that Cotton and Williams fought their controversy from very different grounds: Cotton confronted his conception of a visible church with Williams's conception of an invisible. It seems strange that they were not aware of this discrepancy. It made any attempt to come to an understanding between them hopeless.

The visible church in Cotton's opinion had the task of educating the mass of believers in the spirit of the true religious ideal. Since the many were tares and few only were wheat,

21 John Cotton, *Of the Holiness of Church Members*, (London, 1650), 29. Samuel Rutherford, *The Due right of Presbyteries or a Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland . . .* (London, 1644), *passim*.

22 John Cotton, *Of the Holiness of Church Members*, 65

23 *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (New York, 1931), II, 597.

the few had to teach the tares. Thus compulsion and persecution enters again into the picture of Cotton's theology which we have tried so far to draw. Another feature of his conception of the church seems to be very peculiar to Cotton and undoubtedly arose from the special conditions of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. "The Church is one society in the city, as well as is the society of merchants, or drapers, fishmongers, and haberdashers, and if it be a part of civil justice, out of regard to civil peace to protect all other societies in peace according to their wholesome ordinances of their company, is it not so much more to protect the Church society in peace according to the wholesome ordinances of the word of Christ?"²⁴ I doubt whether Cotton would ever have characterized the Church as a society in the state without knowing that the government in the colony was in the hands of his friends. They were however not Williams's friends. He distinguished between three different realms: "which order spiritual, natural, or civil to confound and abrogate is to exalt man's folly against the most holy and incomprehensible wisdom of God."²⁵

We have yet to illustrate the kind of government both John Cotton and Roger Williams had in mind, which they thought could best support their Church ideal. We come to the final point of their controversy on religious liberty.

After Oliver Cromwell had defeated the Scotch at Dunbar, John Cotton wrote to him that he approved whole-heartedly his policies. Is it not a strange irony of history that the conservative Puritan minister should thus greet the revolutionary army leader? New England, of course, was highly satisfied when Presbyterianism finally disappeared from the English religious scene. That was also the reason why John Cotton sympathized with Oliver Cromwell. Moreover, he liked the authoritative way in which Cromwell treated the opposition. In his letter, Cotton pointed out that the fate of the English monarchy was unavoidable for the sake of religion, that Cromwell's purges in Parliament and army were forced upon him by obstinate people.²⁶ Cotton had expressed his preference for a sovereign government in 1636 in a famous and often quoted

²⁴ *The Bloody Tenent washed*, 13

²⁵ *The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody*, 80

²⁶ Exchange of Letters between Oliver Cromwell and John Cotton, in *Hutchinson Papers* (1679), 233-37.

letter to Lord Say and Seal: "Democracy, I do not conceive that ever God did ordeyne as a fit government either for Church or Commonwealth. If the people be governors who shall be governed? As for monarchy and aristocracy they are both of them clearly approved and directed in scripture, yet so far as referreth the sovereignty to himself and setteth up theocracy in both as the best form of government in the commonwealth as well as in the church."²⁷ In this letter Cotton quoted as his authority the French jurist Jean Bodin who was the first to discover sovereignty as an essential part of any conception of the state. Born in Anger in 1529, Bodin lived through the turbulent years of France's wars of religion. He belonged, except for a short interval, to the moderate *Politique* party which saw in the liberal government of a king the only salvation from the civil war which brought France close to ruin. In his widely read book, *Les six Livres de la République*, Bodin had stated that monarchy was the best form of government because sovereignty can best be put in practise by one person only.²⁸ Another result of the civil war was the demand for abolition of the old established form of monarchy in France. Such a request was made by the so-called Monarchomachists who, especially after the cruel massacre of 1572, published wild pamphlets against the French dynasty.²⁹ They argued that a king was nothing without the support of the people, and that the latter represented the government. Both parties, the *Politiques* and the Monarchomachists, had great influence on political thought in England.³⁰ Bodin was quoted by those who wanted to strengthen the central government against any "liberal" tendencies. It is, therefore, not surprising that John Cotton referred to Bodin in explaining to Lord Say and Seal the form of government he had in mind for the Massachusetts Bay Colony.³¹

27 See Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay* (2 volumes, London, 1760); we quote from the edition of 1936 by Lawrence Shaw Mayo (Cambridge, Mass.), I, Appendix III.

28 First ed., 1576; see edition 1608, 961. There exists an English translation of 1606 by Richard Knolles. See Henry Baudrillart, *Jean Bodin et son temps* (Paris, 1853).

29 G. Weill, *Les théories sur le pouvoir royal en France pendant les guerres de religion* (Paris, 1901.).

30 On Bodin see I. W. Allen, *The History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1928), 44, where he points out that Bodin's influence on England in the seventeenth century was very important. See also Johannes Mattern, *Conception of the State* (Baltimore-Oxford, 1928), 7-8.

31 In *A Model of Church and Civil Power*, a pamphlet published by Roger Wil-

John Cotton was not interested in political questions *per se*. He combined with his ideal of a strong central government the theory that the state should control the ecclesiastical life of a nation. The support of the church by the state was the real important issue for him. He wanted the government sovereign in order to make its defense of the church the more effective. "There is Judicium Politicum, the Judgment of Civil power, whereby a magistrate being called of God to provide that his people may lead a peaceable life in godliness and honesty, he therefore is called to discern not only what is honesty or righteousness before men but what is godliness also before the Lord and accordingly judgeth of godly and ungodly doctrines and practises so far as tendeth to the upholding of public peace."³² The magistrate, to Cotton, was established by the will of God. He agreed in this with his Presbyterian adversaries in England who had fought in long debates in the Westminster Assembly for this principle. On this ground John Cotton could easily prove the identity of church and state in matters spiritual. John Cotton did not hesitate to recall the case of Michel Servetus who was delivered up to the civil authorities as a heretic by Calvin.

There was still another reason why John Cotton brought on the example of Geneva. The political setting of the Massachusetts Bay Colony at the time of Cotton was somewhat similar to the republic led by Calvin. Geneva at that time was an independent community, and was small enough to make it possible for Calvin to put into practise his ideas both on church and state. Such an experiment would have failed in a greater nation where the ruler usually has to make concessions to the opposite side. The leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony had the same if not a greater advantage. In her early colonial days Massachusetts was independent and isolated enough to go her own way. In this way it was possible for Cotton and the other leaders of the Bay Colony to insist on a single state religion, identical with their Congregational church ideal.

I have stressed so far the intellectual background which

liams as second part of the *Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, the author or authors also quote Bodin, p. 224. The authorship of this tract is problematic. Samuel L. Caldwell, the editor of the *Bloody Tenent of Persecution* for the Narragansett Club believes that several authors are responsible for it whilst James Ernst mentions Richard Mather as author. Roger Williams had attributed it to John Cotton who, however, had denied the authorship.

32 *The Bloody Tenent washed*, 62

was the same for both England and New England. At this point of our discussion a word should be said about some difference in the result that arose from this background. Persecution in Europe in the seventeenth century meant a hard life in exile even though the persecuted person was fortunate enough to find a sovereign who was in sympathy with his ideals and who would grant him asylum. Persecution in the New World was not less hard on the persecuted person, but, if he was strong enough to conquer his misfortune he could build up for himself a new life. Roger Williams, for example, seized this opportunity. Though the Bay Colony for a while tried to bring the other colonies under its influence, this goal was finally renounced. Massachusetts did not follow the example of the European nations whose sovereigns, ever since the Middle Ages, pursued strong power politics. This development had, in my opinion, a tremendous influence on what became later the democratic government of the United States. It made it possible for Roger Williams to found the Rhode Island Colony, and to put in practise his ideal both on church and state.

Roger Williams had certainly read Jean Bodin, whose argument that the state is an image of the family he had made his own, but for his political theories he followed another line of thinking.³³ Bodin had used the example of the family for comparing the authority of the father with the sovereign power of the king. Roger Williams had pointed out that all members of a household had the same authority. This was also true of the "Father" of a nation, the king or leader of a commonwealth and his subjects. Roger Williams did not think highly of kings. He referred to the well-known address of the dying John Buchanan directed to James I: "Remember my humble service to his Majestie and tell him that Buchanan is going to a place where few kings come."³⁴ Buchanan, the heretic, driven from Bordeaux, Paris, and Coimbra where he escaped the Inquisition, defended the theory that kings were created by the people to whom they were responsible.³⁵ Buch-

33 Jean Bodin, *Les Six Livres de la République*, 11;; Roger Williams, *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, 242; James Ernst, *The Political Thought of Roger Williams*, 46 does not mention Bodin in this connection.

34 *Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, 180

35 On Buchanan, see Gooch-Laski, *English Democratic Ideas in the 17th Century* (Cambridge, 1929, 2nd. ed.), 39-41. Also Allen, *Political thought*, 336-42.

anan's famous book, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, was published in 1579, in line with the vast Huguenot literature printed after the massacre of 1572. It was considered most dangerous from the view-point of the royalists and therefore was burned by the University of Oxford in 1681. Roger Williams developed similar ideas: "... the sovereign, original and foundation of civil power lies in the people (whom they must needs mean by the civil power distinct from the government set up). And if so, that a people may erect and establish what form of government seems to them most meet for their civil condition. It is evident that such governments as are by them erected and established have no more power, nor for no longer time than the civil power or people consenting and agreeing shall betruest them with. This is clear not only in reason, but in the experience of all commonwealths where the people are not deprived of their natural freedom by the power of tyrants."³⁶ Roger Williams had also the freedom of the people in his mind when he was discussing the relationship between church and state. He thought that liberty of conscience was only possible under the presupposition that the spheres of influence of church and state were strictly separated: "The Church of Christ is the ship, wherein the prince (if a member for otherwise the case is altered) is a passenger. In this ship the officers and governors, such as are appointed by the Lord Jesus, they are the chief, and (in those respects) above the prince himself, and are to be obeyed and submitted to in their works and administrations, even before the prince himself."³⁷ The prince, on the other hand, had to be obeyed in all matters political and civil, and it was his business to guarantee peace and order to the people who elected him.

This discussion may now be brought to a close. The liberal minded Roger Williams pleaded for liberty of conscience against the conservative Puritan minister John Cotton, who defended the principle of one truth. I have no doubt that the sympathy of most of us goes with Roger Williams. We share with him the belief that liberty of conscience is the only way of life worthy of human beings. However, I do not think that we can follow to the end the road prescribed by Roger Williams. We had already opportunity to mention that

³⁶ *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, 249

³⁷ *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, 378.

Cotton's religious experience was in a certain sense deeper than that of Williams.³⁸ Moreover, Cotton's Christianity seems to be more in accord with the complexity of our life than the more extreme and simpler solution of Roger Williams.³⁹ And finally it has become questionable for us whether separation of church and state is a necessary presupposition for liberty of conscience as Roger Williams believed it was. Could liberty of conscience not thrive when protected by the state?

38 See above, p. 43.

39 It is interesting to note that a modern scholar came to a similar solution in regard to our present religious situation. He found that Congregationalism was best prepared to combine "concepts of the church which transcend historic circumstances" and that it conforms best with the true spirit of Christianity which means: "The genius of Christianity is that it seeks to be in the world without being of the world." See Roland H. Bainton, "Congregationalism; The Middle Way," in *Christendom*, III (1940), 354.

TRENDS TOWARD RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION ON THE EVE OF 1660

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From 1640 to 1660 England passed through a succession of extremes in religion which were unusual, abnormal, and very racking to poise and confidence. These years might in a sense be compared to the reigns of Edward and Mary one hundred years before. Both periods were very unlike England's customary course of easy continuity. By 1660 these extremes were reaching some moderation, some compromise, some tendencies toward integration, which would probably have come to a *modus vivendi* before long had not the unwise Restoration, with the customary excesses of reaction, restored a rigid and persecuting Anglicanism wholly out of line with the age.¹ It is the purpose of this paper to point out some of these trends toward integration.

A famous surgeon placed in bold letters on the wall of his teaching clinic: "Be careful, young gentlemen, or you will find what you are looking for." In my survey of the scene, I have found more disintegration than integration. But my paper is concerned only with the latter.

I shall first point out the passing of several things that stood in the way of religious integration, and then the emergence or presence of things that favored it.

First, the passing of the Laudian bishops. Weighted with years, deprivation, humiliation, and, in the case of a few, persecution, that generation was rapidly passing from the scene. With the death of the Bishop of Durham in 1659 at the age of 95, only ten were left. None had been created since the fatal January 30, 1649. To the saintly John Barwick, "faithfullest of the faithful," the death of all these aged men before the restoration of the king and the ordaining of more would be a disaster of stupendous magnitude, for with it would go the

¹ This point has received emphasis in the writer's two articles: "The Religion of Restoration England", *Church History*, VI (1937), 223-32 and "Charles II of England", *American Historical Review*, XLIII (1938), 533-41.

vital chain of apostolic succession. Listen to his sad words:² "the kingdom could hardly die; whereas the church could very easily, having very few hands to support it, and those weak and languishing with old age." He later expresses a fear that the church's opponents are deliberately protracting matters "till all the bishops were dead and the church itself expir'd with them." Two of these ten bishops he considered of questionable zeal and purpose, and he deplored the looseness of the whole church structure insofar as it rested on the clergy as a whole. He undoubtedly meant they were compromising and integrating, as will be emphasized later.

Secondly, the passing of rigid Scottish Presbyterianism. The Calvinism of the Solemn League and Covenant never had any more chance of winning England permanently than Mary Tudor's Catholicism. Centuries of serious statecraft, constitutional progress, lay leadership, and potential Erastianism had quite unfitted England for a church on the Genevan model. Calvinism was ever a foreign growth on English soil, lacking understanding of the Englishman's regard for moderation, continuity, precedent, and personal freedom. Even before it was definitely imposed by the Westminster Assembly of 1646, opposition was plentiful; and during the next two years Englishmen felt that Laudian tyranny had returned in a worse Presbyterian form, dour and foreign, whose only solution for the growing sectarianism was extirpation. It was completely discredited by the second civil war, and was relatively inarticulate thereafter. But memories of the shortlived ecclesiastical tyranny lived on: moderate Presbyterians of 1661 could not convince England that their one-time bigotry was a thing of the past.

Thirdly, the passing of radical sects. Sectarism got its big start during the 40's, and struck its full stride in the 50's when Cromwell strove to defend it against all comers. But by the late 50's, the wilder and more radical sects were either disappearing or moderating their course. Such movements usually spend themselves and die. Furthermore, they were never so wild or so plentiful as their loudest leaders indicate. The well-informed Baxter could only mention five sects. When Ephraim Pagitt in his *Heresiography* of 1645 arrives at a

² Peter Barwick, *Life of John Barwick* (Ed. by G. F. Barwick. London, 1903), pp. 128-29.

total of forty or fifty, it is by way of such meaningless differentiations as Separatists, semi-Separatists, Familists, Castilian Familists, "Familists of the Mountain," "Familists of the Vallies," etc. Most of these were floaters of the ephemeral sort with little staying power, better hearts than heads, and of much harmless zeal unless prodded too hard by persecutors. There was something enervating to these sects in Cromwellian freedom, for they flourish best under persecution. To quote Professor W. K. Jordan: "Sectarianism is by definition fated to a minority status; it thrives most luxuriantly when it exists as a persecuted or repressed movement in protest against a prevailing orthodoxy. By the very sovereignty which it bestows upon the individual conscience, it destroys the substance of the discipline necessary to the exercise of religious leadership. And above all, the respectability which spiritual dominance inevitably breeds is fatal to the fibre and vitality of sectarianism."³

So much for things that were passing: Laudian bishops, Scottish Presbyterianism, and radical sectarianism. Now for the things that were emerging.

First, from 1648 on, there were many, many Presbyterians of the English type, commonly called Puritans. Baxter is most often cited as a representative of this group, though he defies so narrow a classification. I have more to say about him later. Puritanism had always been considerably Calvinist, for it had no Luther or Calvin or Wesley of its own, and in lieu of such, a group will usually gravitate toward another leader. English Puritanism had been deeply affected by its Scottish alliance of the 40's. But with the discrediting of Scotland and her religious system in the Second Civil War, English Presbyterianism could go on its moderate way, pleasantly divested of the forbidding extremes that had disgraced its northern relative.

3 Wilbur K. Jordan, *The Development of religious toleration in England 1640-1660: the revolutionary experiments and the dominant religious thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), p. 119. Professor Jordan's four volumes on the subject (London, 1932-40; also Cambridge, Mass., 1932-40), covering 1534 to 1660, and containing an elaborate analysis of the literature, have been most helpful in preparing this paper. The last volume also deals with 1640-60 and bears the subtitle: *Attainment of the theory and accommodations in thought and institutions*. He contributed related articles to the *Huntington Library Quarterly*, III (1940), 197-223, 289-314, 403-18.

Secondly, there were in the late 50's many conservative Congregationalists whose shift of position is closely related to the process of integration. John Owen was the versatile and influential leader of this group. His personal history is typical of its instability and its uncertain affiliations. He was a Presbyterian until 1645 when his tolerance drove him to the Independents with amazingly little change of religious views. He was never a Latitudinarian, though he lived until 1686; and by the late 50's the excesses of his sectarian allies disturbed him greatly. He began to recoil from the complete freedom whose progeny he loathed toward a compromise establishment on a mild Presbyterian model with order and discipline, some comprehension, and a limited toleration. The Savoy Declaration of October 1658⁴ was the fruit of this endeavor. Whatever might have come of it perished prenatally with the Protector.

In a coalition of these two groups, moderate English Presbyterians and conservative Congregationalists lay the chief hope of a new national church structure in line with the religious revolution of the time. But a third important ingredient might well have been moderate Anglicanism. Most Englishmen were Anglican at heart. This element was therefore of great importance, making up in quantity what it lacked for the moment in leadership. It was necessarily not very articulate. Anglicanism had been disestablished, discredited by memories of Laudian tyranny, weakened by war, decimated by the passing of years, and proscribed by its identification with a non-existent monarchy. But there was a fair number of moderate Anglicans, mainly men reared in the 40's without Laudian parentage who were amenable to some compromise and some comprehension. Dr. John Gauden is an example, whose scheme was propounded in 1656 on Ussher's model.⁵ These men were conservative, but so were the English Presbyterians after exposure to the Scottish brand, and so were many Congregationalists after exposure to what unlicensed liberty could spawn in the form of radical sects. As precedent for this moderate Anglicanism—and what does the good English-

⁴ *A Declaration of the faith and order owned and practiced in the Congregational churches in England, agreed upon and consented unto by their elders and messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, Octob. 12, 1658* (27 p. London, 1659; reprint in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, III, 707 ff. (New York, 1876).

⁵ Printed in Thurloe, *State Papers*, V, 598-600.

man of any age, caste, or creed love more than precedent?—there were memories of moderate Anglicans of the old days: Williams, Hall, Ussher, the last two not dying until 1656. Old and young, they suffered from deprivation and association with the Stuart cause, which was still their nominal absentee head. But they found support in the main body of English lay opinion, which is to be treated later as possibly the most cogent integrating force of all.

In the fusing of these three groups, moderate Anglicans, moderate Presbyterians, and conservative Congregationalists is the chief *raison d'être* of this paper. There is less tangible evidence as to the Anglican ingredient, but as the fusion went on, it would probably have become the most important element. It represented a larger portion of the nation. It would have profited from the ennui of the years over the more violent and radical groups. Men like Baxter and Owen are less likely to propagate their kind than those in the groove of national tradition. Had this fusion been allowed to work itself out, the result would have been a somewhat Elizabethan establishment, invigorated by some Calvinistic Puritanism, and tempered considerably by the Independent ideas of the Congregationalists. Such a church would have been a vast improvement over what was restored in 1661, namely, a reactionary Anglicanism, too persecuting for the ordinary Englishman and even for the better Anglican leaders of the day, and wholly out of line with the rationalist trends of the intellectuals both within and without the church. England might thus have avoided the persecutions of 1660-1688 and the social and political disabilities derived therefrom which lasted for five generations.

I would here call attention to Richard Baxter's Worcester-shire Association and similar efforts at united religious labor in the provinces. Data are not plentiful, but at least here was a very religious and intelligent individual who brought most of the preachers of his county together in his home on the first Thursday of each month for a discussion of their problems and joint labors. There were somewhat similar movements in six or eight other counties.⁶ Baxter's Association

6 For these "Associations", see *Christian Concord, or the agreement of the associated pastors and churches of Worcestershire, with Rich. Baxter's explication and defence of it, and his exhortation to unity* (London, 1653); *The Agreement of divers ministers of Christ in the county of Worcester and some adjacent parts*

drew up a form of agreement described in his *Christian Concord*. His motto was: "In things necessary, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all things, charity." What he says about those who co-operated is of great interest. There were two Presbyterians and one Independent in the county, and none came to his meeting. "All the rest were mere catholicks—men of no faction, nor siding with any party, but owning that which was good in all . . . The greatest advantage which I found for concord and pacification was among a great number of ministers and people who had addicted themselves to no sect or party at all, though the vulgar called them by the name of Presbyterians. And the truth is, as far as I could discover, this was the case of the greatest number of the godly ministers and people throughout England."⁷ It is refreshing when studying religion of the time to exchange Whitehall for the provincial church. Baxter probably viewed the situation through his own spectacles but he was at least a bright, observing and broad-visioned man. What he says is that most of those who co-operated with him were nondescript as to definition and therefore quite capable of joint action. Although vulgarly known as Presbyterians, they knew little of that religion as practised north of the border. 40's and 50's had taught some tolerance. You may think I have trimmed Baxter's Associations to fit my cloth of integration. I think they fit splendidly with little trimming.

The last and perhaps the most important contribution to this integrating trend was the flowering of intelligence in mid-seventeenth century England. It occurred both within and without the church bodies. Within the established Church, it strengthened the aforesaid forces of moderation, compromise and tolerance, and it helped to initiate the Latitudinarianism

for catechizing or personal instructing all in their several parishes, that will consent therunto (London, 1656); *The agreement of the associated ministers and churches of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland with something for explication and exhortation annexed* (London, 1656); *The Agreement of of the associated ministers of the county of Essex, proposed to their particular congregations, and to all such of the county that love the churches peace, with a word of exhortation to brotherly union* (London, 1658); *The agreement of the associated ministers in the county of Norfolk and city and county of Norwich* (London, 1659).

Much information about these and other associations is assembled in William A. Shaw, *History of the English Church during the civil wars and under the Commonwealth, 1640-1660* (2 v. London, 1900), II, 440-56. Cf. F. J. Powicke, *Baxter* (2 v. London, 1924-27), I, 164-71.

⁷ *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (ed. by J. M. L. Thomas, London, 1925), 84, *et passim*.

of the Restoration. Within sects, it showed itself in lay emphases, lay arguments, and lay leadership. Feeling against the pretensions of bishops, clergy, and presbyters was widespread and profound. Centuries of English history had created considerable respect for the rights, ability and dignity of the ordinary man. Laudian tyranny and Westminster Assembly had been equally repulsive. Laymen spoke more, wrote more, were read and listened to more. The Quakers had no clergy. Baptists and other sects used lay preachers in starting, sometimes out of necessity; but some continued it as a matter of policy. It was shocking to the previous conception of a clerical monopoly of church ministrations. A widespread lay regard for life, its problems and motives supplant an ecclesiastical and clerical regard. This needs emphasis; it is frequently lost or never even found in the blatant ecclesiastical battles of the day. "A plague on both your houses" wrote many an Englishman as he beheld successive ecclesiastical claims to omniscience and omnipotence.

The economic argument in favor of toleration was first used in England by the Baptists. In that group were many rich London merchants, some of them lay preachers. England could scarcely be blind to the lesson of the prosperous, tolerant Dutch at the beginning of their quarter-century of struggle. Prosperity and success were words to conjure with, and they found their way into the religious as well as the worldly vocabulary. Matthew Wren in 1660 said: "Faith is a successful grace, and hath a promise of prospering."⁸ Erastians like Selden and Whitelocke became more secular in their emphasis of state over church. Others argued that church and state should be separated not only for the good of the church—that was an old story—but for the good of the state which would thereby be relieved of the responsibility and embarrassment of supporting a particular church with attendant persecution and civil strife. Intelligence, rationalism, common sense, science, history, Royal Society, and diversity of respected opinion conspired to ridicule a monopoly of absolute truth. And among these conspirators was the most deadly of all, namely, indifference. An institution

⁸ *Monarchy asserted or the state of monarchicall and popular government in indication of the considerations upon Mr. Harrington's Oceana* (Oxford, 1659), quoted in Margaret James, *Social problems and policy during the Puritan Revolution, 1640-1660* (London, 1930), p. 1.

can strike out against positive opposition in almost any form, and its weapons acquire an edge in the process; but swords bend hopelessly when going up against sheer indifference. It looks soft but in spiritual combat it is the flintiest substance known to man.

In conclusion, tendencies to religious integration are to be found during the 1650's in the elimination of some opposing elements, in the emergence of trends toward moderation, compromise, cooperation, and tolerance, and in the profound and wide-spread maturing of lay opinion.

FIFTIETH (THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL) MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

December 27th and 28th, 1940

The American Society of Church History held its fiftieth consecutive and thirty-fourth annual meeting jointly with the American Historical Association at Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, on Friday and Saturday, December 27th and 28th, 1940.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27TH

The meeting was held in parlor A (mezzanine), Hotel Pennsylvania, and was opened by President Roland H. Bainton at 10:00 A. M. It was attended by thirty-two members and guests.

The first paper was presented by John Joseph Stoudt of Allentown, Pennsylvania, and dealt with *Count Zinzendorf and the Pennsylvania Congregation of God in the Spirit*. It was followed by a paper read by Amos A. Hovey of Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, whose subject was *The Relation of Methodists and Congregationalists to Efforts for the Abolition of War*. The last paper of the morning was presented by Howard H. Brinton, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. His paper was entitled *The Sources of the History of Quaker Pacifism*. The first paper was exhaustively discussed, but there was no time for the discussion of the remaining two papers.

A joint meeting of the Society and the American Historical Association was held in the afternoon at 2:30 in Conference Room Number 2 (mezzanine) of Hotel Pennsylvania, President Bainton presiding. The general theme was *The Evolution of Religious Toleration in the Days of the Long Parliament*. The first paper was read by Elizabeth Feist Hirsch of Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, and dealt with *John Cotton and Roger Williams; Their Controversy in the Light of Religious Developments during the Long Parliament*. After a discussion of this theme a paper was

presented by Ethyn W. Kirby of Providence, Rhode Island, entitled *Cromwell and Toleration: The Background of His Policy*. The last paper of this afternoon session was presented by Clyde L. Grose, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, on the subject *Trends Toward Religious Integration on the Eve of 1660*. After a lively discussion the joint program was concluded.

The banquet of the meeting was held at the Faculty Club for Men, Columbia University, at 6:30 p. m. Vice-president F. W. Buckler acted as toastmaster. He called upon President Roland H. Bainton, who delivered his presidential address dealing with *Four Centuries of the Idea of Toleration*.

This was followed by a business meeting of the Society. The Secretary presented the minutes of the previous meeting, as published in the March, 1940, issue of *Church History*. The minutes were approved as presented.

Treasurer Robert Hastings Nichols presented his annual report in printed form, as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

American Society of Church History
for the year December 12, 1939—December 12, 1940

I. CURRENT FUNDS

A. SUMMARY AND BALANCE

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, December 11, 1939	\$ 819.03
Membership dues	962.79
Bank interest	5.72
Income from <i>Church History</i>	331.87
<i>Studies</i> —See Schedule C	146.87
	<hr/>
	\$2,266.28

DISBURSEMENTS

Expenses of management of Society	\$ 348.80
Publication of <i>Church History</i>	1,056.70
<i>Studies</i> —See Schedule C	192.72
	<hr/>
	\$1,598.22

Cash on hand, December 12, 1940:

National Bank of Auburn, checking
account, per bank statement\$ 308.82

less unreturned checks:

No. 597 \$ 2.94
No. 607 24.25 27.19

\$ 281.63

National Bank of Auburn, interest
account, per bank book 386.43 668.06

\$2,266.28

B. GENERAL FUNDS AND MAGAZINE

RECEIPTS

Membership dues

1937— 4 members\$ 12.00
1938— 7 members 21.00
1939— 19 members 57.00
1940—291 members 869.79
1941— 1 member 3.00 \$ 962.79

Bank interest 5.72 \$ 968.51

Subscriptions to *Church History* (113) \$ 328.17

Sale of copies 3.70 331.87

Total of Receipts \$1,300.38

DISBURSEMENTS

Management of Society

Postage and express charges \$ 73.37
Telephone tolls and telegrams 5.87
Printing 53.96
Stationery and supplies 9.10
Stenographic and clerical services..... 116.50
Conference of Historical Societies 1.00
Dinner expenses, annual meeting 3.00
Travelling expenses of Treasurer 23.15
Travelling expenses of Secretary 41.85

Treasurer's bond	12.50	
Safe-deposit box	5.50	
Check returned	3.00	
	<hr/>	\$ 348.80

Publication of *Church History*

Printing and distribution	\$ 838.37	
Other printing	10.63	
Postage and express charges	27.91	
Telephone tolls and telegrams	3.89	
Stationery and supplies	9.65	
Stenographic services		
Managing editor	\$ 60.50	
Treasurer	99.50	160.00
	<hr/>	
Subscriptions cancelled	4.25	
Advertising	2.00	1,056.70
	<hr/>	
Total of disbursements		\$1,405.50

C. STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY

RECEIPTS

Sales of Volume I (including postage) \$	6.89	
Sales of Volume II (including postage)	4.06	
Sales of Volume III (including postage)	12.22	
Volume IV		
Payment by author	\$ 101.59	
Sales (inc. postage)	9.07	110.66
	<hr/>	
Sales of Monograph I (inc. postage)	10.17	
Sales of Monograph II (inc. postage)	2.00	
Sales of Rockwell Pamphlet (inc. Post.)	.87	
	<hr/>	\$ 146.87

DISBURSEMENTS

Volume I

Postage	\$.03	
Stenographic services .....	.95	
Editorial services .....	.59	
Advertising	1.62	
Settlement with author	5.32	
	<hr/>	\$ 8.51

CHURCH HISTORY

Volume II

Postage .....	.03
Stenographic services .....	.20
Editorial services .....	.18
Advertising	1.62
Settlement with author	1.65

\$ 3.68

Volume III

Postage .....	.23
Stenographic services .....	.80
Editorial services .....	.97
Advertising	1.62
Settlement with author	8.72

\$ 12.34

Volume IV

Postage and express charges	3.61
Stenographic services .....	.50
Copyright	2.06
Refund	1.00
Advertising	43.53
Publication costs over \$300, trans- mitted from author	101.59

\$152.29

Monograph I

Postage .....	.06
Stenographic services	1.15
Editorial services .....	.67
Advertising	1.62
Settlement with author	6.06

\$ 9.56

Monograph II

Stenographic services .....	.60
Editorial services .....	.33
Advertising	1.60
Settlement with author	2.94

\$ 5.47

Rockwell Pamphlet

Stenographic services .....	.10
Settlement with author .....	.77

.87

\$192.72

II. ENDOWMENT FUND

A. CASH

Dec. 12, 1939, Cash in Auburn Savings Bank....	\$ 310.91
Interest United States bonds	\$ 267.50
Interest New York Trust Co.	20.00
Interest Auburn Savings Bank	7.67
	<hr/> 295.17

\$ 606.08

Publication of Volume IV in <i>Studies in Church History</i> , Stearns' <i>Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands</i> (Frank S. Brewer Prize)	<hr/> 300.00
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December 12, 1940, Total cash in fund \$ 306.08

December 12, 1940, Cash in Auburn Savings Bank, per bank book \$ 306.08

December 12, 1940, Division of Endowment Fund income in hand

Frank S. Brewer Prize Fund

1 year's income of \$10,000 2½% U. S. bonds \$ 250.00

Publication Reserve Fund

Income of Endowment Fund aside from Frank S. Brewer bequest 56.08

\$ 306.08

B. SECURITIES

\$1,000 Guaranteed First Mortgage Certificate, Series N64, No. 207, New York Title and Mortgage Company in liquidation, New York Trust Company, trustee.

\$10,000 Registered U. S. Treasury bond 1438J, 1949-53, 2½%

\$500 Registered U. S. Treasury bond 2445E, 1949-53, 2½%

\$100 Registered U. S. Treasury bond 3328J, 1949-53, 2½%

\$100 Registered U. S. Treasury bond 3329J, 1949-53, 2½%

These securities are in the Society's box in the safe-deposit department of the 111th Street Branch of the National City Bank of New York.

ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS, *Treasurer*.

The Auditing Committee, appointed at the morning meeting and consisting of Harold S. Bender and John W. Brush, reported that the Treasurer's books were found in order. Thereupon, the Treasurer's report was received for record and the Auditing Committee's report was adopted.

It was voted that the Committee on Endowment consider a re-investment of the Society's funds.

On the recommendation of the Council, it was voted that the appropriation for the publication of *Church History* for the coming year be set at \$1200.

The Nominating Committee presented the nominations for the officers for 1941, and they were duly elected. Other members of the Council and members of the Committees for 1941 were likewise elected as nominated by the Committee. (See minutes of the Council *in re.*)

It was voted to adopt the recommendation of the Council that the appropriation for *Church History* for 1941 be \$1,200.

It was, furthermore, voted that the next annual meeting be held in connection with the American Historical Association in Chicago. The arrangements are to be in care of the Program Committee.

After a vote of thanks to the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the chairman of the Program Committee, the meeting was adjourned until the next day.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28TH

The Saturday meeting opened under the presidency of F. W. Buckler at 10:00 a. m. in the undercroft of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

The first paper presented on this occasion was by Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., dealing with the subject of *Liturgics and Church History*. After an animated discussion, it was followed by the second paper of the morning, presented by Winfred E. Garrison of the University of Chicago, on the topic of *Art and Church History*. This, too, led to considerable discussion.

Thereupon, a business meeting was held at which it was voted that "whereas the late Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson, Secretary of our Society from its foundation in 1888 to the year 1911, requested that his project for the publication of an English translation of the *Latin Works of Huldreich*

Zwingli be carried out under the auspices of the American Society of Church History and under the general oversight of Dr. William Walker Rockwell; and whereas three volumes have already been published, and the manuscript translations for the fourth volume are in the hands of Professor Robert Hastings Nichols; therefore, be it resolved that the matter be referred to the Editorial Board for investigation and recommendation of action."

On the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee the following action was taken: "In the light of Professor Shepherd's suggestion, be it resolved that a committee be appointed to prepare specific plans for the publication of a source book on *Liturgics and Christian Worship*, and further, that this committee also give consideration to the planning of a series of source books."

The president appointed as this committee Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., chairman; Ronald H. Bainton and Winfred E. Garrison.

The following resolution was adopted: "*Resolved*, that we express our gratitude to Dr. Herbert W. Schneider and the Faculty Club for Men of Columbia University for their entertainment of our Society at dinner last night; and that we express our sincere gratitude and appreciation to the Dean of the Cathedral, Dr. James De Wolfe, and the Rev. Dudley Hughes, for the courtesies extended to our Society."

Thereupon the meeting was adjourned.

Attest: MATTHEW SPINKA,
Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

December 27, 1940

The Council met at the call of President Roland H. Bainton in Parlor A (mezzanine), Hotel Pennsylvania, on December 27, 1940 at 1:00 P. M.

The following members were present:

Roland H. Bainton	Harold S. Bender
Robert Hastings Nichols	Herbert W. Schneider
E. R. Hardy, Jr.	Frederick W. Loetscher
F. W. Buckler	Matthew Spinka
Charles Lyttle	

The minutes of the meeting of the Council held on April 26, 1940, at Cleveland, Ohio, were approved as published in the June, 1940, issue of *Church History*.

The Secretary reported that the following members had resigned since the last meeting of the Council, and recommended that their resignations be accepted:

Louise R. Loomis, Aurora, New York
Douglas C. McMurtrie, Chicago, Illinois
Philip S. Miller, Lincoln University, Pa.
Allen R. Moore, Brewster, New York
Alfred H. Sweet, Washington, Pennsylvania
James J. Talman, London, Ontario, Canada.

The resignations were accepted with regret.

The following members were reported as having died during the same period:

Andrew B. Baird, Winnipeg, Canada
J. G. Hammarskold, Yonkers, New York.

The Treasurer reported that the following members were in arrears for dues for the past three years:

Harrison Deyo	W. H. Luecke
Milo Filipi	Thomas F. O'Connor
Kyle E. Haselden	Herbert Wiltsee.

It was voted that these names be dropped from the membership roll.

The following candidates, properly nominated and seconded by members of the Society, were elected, subject to the fulfillment of the constitutional requirements concerning membership:

- Prof. John L. Anderson, The College of Idaho, Caldwell, Idaho.
- Mr. Charles Scudder Barrett, 140 Claremont Avenue, New York City.
- Prof. Roy Battenhouse, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.
- Dean Ahva J. C. Bond, School of Theology, Alfred University, Alfred, New York.
- Mr. Homer W. Brainard, 73 Butterfield Terrace, Amherst, Massachusetts.
- Dr. Daryl Chase, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
- Dr. Glanville Downey, 2735 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Rev. John Tracy Ellis, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
- Prof. Walter L. Green, School of Theology, Alfred University, Alfred, New York.
- Mr. Carl W. Griffiths, 5815 Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
- Dean Colby D. Hall, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas.
- Prof. Armas Holmio, 83 Suomi Road, Quincy, Mass.
- Prof. Charles J. Kennedy, Iowa Wesleyan College, Mount Pleasant, Iowa.
- Rev. William W. McKinney, D.D., 823 Maplewood Avenue, Ambridge, Pennsylvania.
- Mr. Fred Norwood, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Rev. Arthur C. Repp, 3107 Buena Vista Street, San Antonio, Texas.
- Prof. W. R. Reynolds, Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky.

Rev. Alexander Stacey, Centerbrook, Connecticut.

Mr. David Swift, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut.

Prof. D. B. Zema, S. J., Fordham University, New York City.

The Secretary announced that the membership of the Society had been greatly increased by the large accession of new members elected at the last meeting. Prior to that meeting, on December 11, 1939, there were 300 members and 126 subscribers (although the classification of eighteen of these latter was changed at the meeting to that of members). On December 12, 1940, there were 362 members and 105 subscribers, a total of 467, but exclusive of the candidates to be voted upon at this meeting. The net gain in members had been 44, but there was a loss of three subscribers.

In view of the operating deficit reported by the Treasurer, it was voted to urge the Membership Committee to undertake a vigorous campaign during the coming year for the purpose of securing at least thirty new members. Moreover, it was urged that every effort be made to increase the sale of the publications of the Society, particularly by offering to the new members the past issues of *Church History*.

The Secretary, furthermore, presented a letter from Professor Fritiof Ander, chairman of the Program Committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, proposing that a joint session with our Society be arranged for the forthcoming meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, April 24-26, 1941. It was voted to accept the invitation and provide the joint program; furthermore, President F. W. Buckler was authorized to represent the Society at this session and to negotiate with the officers of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in regard to the future joint meetings of the two organizations, to be conducted on an equal basis.

The Editorial Board presented its report for 1940 as follows:

The Editorial Board of *Church History* presents herewith its ninth annual report. First of all, we are glad to report that we have been able to keep considerably below the appropriation for the publication of the quarterly, which was set at \$1,200, for the actual total expenses for the year amounted to \$1,056.70. We recommend that the new appropriation be set again at \$1200.

Furthermore, we wish to announce that the Frank S. Brewer Prize is to be awarded during the coming year of 1941, and accordingly that a contest will be held for the purpose. The prize consists approximately of the sum of \$500 to be used toward the publication of the winning prize essay in the *Studies in Church History*. All essays must be submitted to the Secretary of the Society by June 1, 1941, and the award will be made by October 1, 1941. Accordingly, a jury of five members should be elected at this meeting.

It is with sincere pleasure that we announce that the first Frank S. Brewer Prize Essay, namely, Professor Raymond P. Stearns' *Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands*, was published this year as Volume IV of the *Studies in Church History*. An extensive advertising campaign, far exceeding any previous similar promotional effort, is now in progress.

Respectfully submitted,

Matthew Spinka
Robert Hastings Nichols
Roland H. Bainton.

It was voted to recommend to the Society that the new appropriation be set at \$1,200.

The jury for the award of the Frank S. Brewer Prize Essay was appointed and consists of the following members: F. W. Buckler, chairman; Conrad H. Moehlman, Roland H. Bainton, Frederick W. Loetscher, and Robert Fortenbaugh.

Thereupon the Council voted to recommend to the Society the election of the following officers and other members of the Council and of the committees:

President, F. W. Buckler
Vice-president, E. R. Hardy, Jr.
Secretary, Matthew Spinka
Treasurer, Robert Hastings Nichols
Assistant secretary, Robert Fortenbaugh.

Other members of the Council: Frederick William Loetscher, John Thomas McNeill, Wilhelm Pauck, Herbert Wallace Schneider, Reuben E. Harkness, Charles H. Lyttle, Roland H. Bainton, Percy V. Norwood, Harold S. Bender, Cyril C. Richardson.

Committees for 1941

Committee on Program and Local Arrangements for the Annual Meeting: Roland H. Bainton, Chairman; Wilhelm Pauck, Paul H. Eller, the Secretary, the Treasurer.

Editorial Board: Matthew Spinka, Managing Editor; Robert Hastings Nichols, F. W. Buckler, *ex officio*.

Membership Committee: John T. McNeill, Chairman; Conrad H. Moehlman, Clifford M. Drury, Kenneth S. Latourette, the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, and the Treasurer.

Committee on the Program and the Local Arrangements for the Spring Meeting: Sidney E. Mead, Chairman; Charles Lyttle, Paul H. Eller, and Matthew Spinka.

Committee on Investment of Endowment Funds: Shirley Jackson Case, Chairman; Robert Hastings Nichols, F. W. Loetscher.

Voted, that President F. W. Buckler be authorized to apply once more to the Council of Learned Societies for inclusion of our Society in its membership.

Adjourned, to meet at the call of the President.

Attest: MATTHEW SPINKA,
Secretary.

BOOK REVIEWS

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

By ARCHIBALD G. BAKER (EDITOR), MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR. JOHN T. MCNEILL, MATTHEW SPINKA, WINFRED E. GARRISON, WILLIAM W. SWEET. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940. 279 pages. \$2.00.

Why should anyone give us another outline history of Christianity? The number of such books is already sufficient to fill several library shelves. But the present volume has some significant features that differentiate it from its predecessors. It is quite unusual in giving proportionate attention to the various aspects of Christianity's history as a whole. Instead of the customary emphasis upon western Europe and the British Isles, it has adequate sections on the history of Eastern Orthodoxy, the history of Christianity in the Americas, and the spread of this religion on the different mission fields. This comprehensive grasp of the subject would of itself give the book distinction. But it has another commendable quality. Each section of the history is treated by a specialist in the several fields, thus insuring equal dependability and accurate exposition for the various parts. But the different writers have so thoroughly coordinated their activities and maintained a common purpose that the sense of unity for the whole is not sacrificed.

It is important for one who would use the book to recognize its controlling purpose. It is not designed to be a condensed body of statistical information about all items in the history of Christianity. It is not intended to serve as a substitute for an encyclopedia. It is rather an introduction to the subject, giving a bird's-eye view of the whole field as a preparation for more intensive investigation in areas of special interest that may later be cultivated. In this respect it should meet with wide approval. The layman may read it with pleasure and profit; it could well be used by adult classes in the church school; and students in the theological seminaries will find it an excellent introduction to their further studies in church history.

The Florida School of Religion,
Lakeland, Florida.

Shirley Jackson Case.

MILITANT IN EARTH

TWENTY CENTURIES OF THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

By EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, JR. New York, London, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1940. 255 pages. \$3.00.

Within a small compass Dr. Hardy has attained an artistic success; he has recounted "the spread of Christianity" so that a distinct picture stands out and remains vivid in memory. This has been accomplished by a somewhat novel and arresting arrangement, selection of details that

kindle the imagination and an individual interesting style. The chapters are "Citizens of Heaven", covering the first three centuries, "The Naturalization of Christianity", to about 500, "The Two Swords", dealing with the Middle Ages to 1200, "Friars, Fighters and Explorers", describing late medieval Christian enterprises, "Gold and Christians" (words from Vasco de Gama), on the expansion of Christianity amid the expansion of trade and empires, "The Age of Individuals", outlining the modern missionary movement. The enlightenment from this division is evident; the only important drawback is that it does not accentuate the sharp contrast between 500 and 1500 in the fortunes of Christianity. The narrative, careful and trustworthy, makes considerable use of sources in the first two chapters; after that until 1800 it depends much upon Latourette, as is acknowledged and as is inevitable. The balanced presentation of the spread of all forms of Christianity, Roman, Eastern, Orthodox, Nestorian, Protestant distinguishes this book among others of its class.

Two criticisms of proportions seem fair. More than a third of the book is given to the years to 500. These two chapters are the liveliest in the book and the part of it most fruitful in thought, but their space is excessive. Again the years from the late 18th century to 1910, the time of Christianity's most rapid spread, receive only about a seventh of the pages. Furthermore this period is characterized as "The Age of Individuals", whereas it was much more the age of missionary societies, and also the age in which the Protestant churches as churches entered the missionary field. On the other hand many particular merits call for commendation, among them a satisfactory though short account of the spread of Arian Christianity among the German tribes, a subject hitherto in dim light, the sketch of the missions of the Celtic church, the view of Christianity of various kinds in Asia in the medieval period. Dr. Hardy ends with a survey of the missionary situation since 1910, extending to the Madras Conference.

Auburn Theological Seminary,
New York City.

Robert Hastings Nichols.

THE HOMILY ON THE PASSION BY MELITO, BISHOP OF SARDIS

Edited by CAMPBELL BONNER. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. 202 pages. \$5.00.

Rarely is a modern scholar privileged to make an important addition to the primary sources for early Christian history. That is what Campbell Bonner has done in publishing Melito's *Homily on the Passion*. It is a Good Friday sermon of the late second century, in rhetorical but effective literary style, by the prominent and influential Bishop of Sardis. Until its discovery about a decade ago among the Michigan-Beatty papyri, this sermon was unknown even by title, though unidentified scraps of it did exist in Syriac, Coptic, and Greek. In the Michigan-Beatty codex it is all but complete. Hitherto, Melito, Bishop of Sardis, has been known only from the merest fragments of his writings. This nearly complete sermon by him makes intelligible why Eusebius named Melito along with Dionysius of Corinth, Irenaeus, and other eminent early Christian leaders.

His interpretation of the passion of Christ is comprehensive in terms of analogy with the Jewish sacrifice of the Passover lamb. It is a specific elaboration of the key idea suggested by Paul in I Corinthians 5:7. Thus the new Melito document takes its place in the direct line of development between the Fourth Gospel and the later Quatrodeciman literature in its interpretation of the religious significance and the date of Jesus' execution.

Many other historical values are recorded in this Good Friday sermon. Consider, for example, the theological import and the liturgical quality of the following doxology concerning Christ: "Who is all things: in that he judges, Law; in that he teaches, Word; in that he saves, Grace; in that he begets, Father; in that he is begotten, Son; in that he suffers, a sacrificial sheep; in that he is buried, Man; in that he arises, God. This is Jesus the Christ to whom belongs the glory to the ages of ages. Amen."

Professor Bonner's editing is worthy of the Melito sermon. His Introduction is comprehensively critical as well as accurately descriptive. The Greek text is printed twice: once exactly as it exists in the fourth-century Michigan-Beatty codex; and again with the words separated, abbreviations resolved, blanks supplied, etc. The critical apparatus is full and the translation is a model of lucidity and precision. This is the way early Christian documents ought to be published.

University of Chicago.

Harold R. Willoughby.

THE LETTERS OF SAINT BONIFACE

By EPHRAIM EMERTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. 204 pages. \$3.00.

The letters of Saint Boniface are an indispensable source for the early history of Germany and more especially for the church history of this period. This translation will be a welcome addition to the *Records of Civilization* edited under the auspices of the Department of History of Columbia University.

There is no doubt that Boniface consciously chose Augustine of Canterbury as his prototype. This is clearly proved by his letters. He took the greatest care to have himself legally commissioned from Rome. Like the Irish missionaries on the Continent, he might have gone to Germany and just started to preach. But he had a totally different idea of the church and of his own mission. Without the sanction of the papacy his work would be outside of that orderly progression planned of God. As he saw it, the steps were simple: Christ to Peter; through Peter to the papacy; from Gregory I through Augustine to England; from England by himself to Germany with the sanction of Gregory II. That he kept the pattern of Augustine ever before him is further proved by the fact that he left no stone unturned to get a copy of the correspondence of Augustine and Gregory I; writing first to Canterbury (XXIV), apparently with no success and then to Rome where his search was successful (XLIII). Having at last secured it, he made sure that the English church had an official copy (LIX). Again, after the pattern of Augustine he refers the problems of his administration to popes Gregory II (XVIII) and Zacharias (XLI).

The English correspondence is not here translated for the first time (Edward Kylie, *The English Correspondence of Saint Boniface*, London, 1911), but it takes on new meaning when coupled with the complete translation. Boniface was ever the Englishman, and always took a keen interest in the affairs of his native country even to sending a stinging rebuke to a king whose moral life left much to be desired (LVII).

The reviewer thinks that the book would have been much more valuable with a fuller commentary such as was provided by Shotwell and Loomis in *The See of Peter*, to cite a work in the same series. But since the editors admit this in the Foreword in stating their reluctance in making any but the most necessary changes in the work of the late Professor Emerton, such criticism is practically disarmed. For the same reason one hesitates to say that the introduction is much too short to be of any great value.

Pawtucket, R. I.

W. T. Townsend.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD, II

By CYRIL E. HUDSON and MAURICE B. RECKITT. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1940. x, 210 pages. \$2.75.

This is the second volume in a series of three providing "materials for the historical study of Christian sociology." The first volume brought the story down to the Avignon Captivity. This second volume uncovers the foundations of the modern world, from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The concluding volume is to be devoted to a particular investigation of the social and religious situation in England from the Oxford Movement to the contemporary scene.

The series is not a source-book or a bibliographical guide. It is an attempt to popularize the best scholarly interpretations and comments by selected quotations. The editors seek to furnish perspective and continuity by calling attention to the problems involved then and their presence today in Fascism, Nazism, and the total world situation. As a *vade mecum* for American students who refuse to study the heavier tomes, the series meets a growing need. The excerpts are as a rule well selected, the analysis and outline prevent the forest from becoming trees, the references at the ends of the chapters should be expanded, and the index is far from adequate. We miss favorite American comments, but these selections were made in England. It is far better to let the English Diggers and Levellers of 1649-1650 be "the spiritual heirs of the Anabaptists" than to make modern Baptists their lineal descendants according to the prevailing pattern. But Chapter VI on "Disintegration of the Medieval Economic Synthesis" deserved twice the space. The first volume contained 304 pages; the one-third cut in the second volume eliminated numerous necessary excerpts. Our hope is that the third volume will not be made to suffer similarly.

As typical of the expert comment appearing all the way through this second volume by Cyril E. Hudson, we quote this from N. E. Egerton Swann:

"The last traces of the Church's social inheritance vanished with the Revolution of 1688. The Church had itself abandoned its prophetic watch-

tower before its corporate voice was silenced from outside by the closing of Convocation in 1717. But this removed the very conditions for the recovery of any corporate consciousness of the Church's responsibility in these matters, even had there been, on other grounds, any hope of such a social revival."

Conrad Henry Moehlman.

MAN OF SPAIN

By JOSEPH H. FICHTER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940. 349 pages. \$2.50.

The "man of Spain" turns out to be Francis Suarez, eminent Jesuit theologian who lived in the latter half of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century. The book is a full-length biography of one of the most distinguished figures in post-Reformation Roman Catholic theology. While as might be expected, the life of a philosopher and theologian lacks some of the dramatic quality of biographies of some of the other important figures of that period, it is by no means lacking in romantic interest.

Born in Granada, Suarez seems to have been in his childhood and youth rather dull and unpromising. His early teachers thought him hopeless, and when he applied for entrance into the Jesuit Order, he had great difficulty in getting in. He was accepted as *indifferent*, which meant conditional acceptance without any certain promise as to what he might expect. So eager was he to join the Order that he was willing to accept any classification and so he entered upon his novitiate. He was nicknamed "Dumb-ox" and was rather generally regarded by his superiors as of very little promise. Then suddenly something seems to have happened to him, and he became almost overnight the most brilliant student in his classes. How account for such a change?

The author quotes from another Catholic writer the following explanation: "Heaven intervened. His powers appeared rather suddenly during his course in philosophy. Suarez had a remarkable devotion to Our Lady." . . . "Because of this warm devotion to Our Lady, God intervened to change him rather suddenly into a mental giant." Some called it a miracle, some a peculiar coincidence; but the story of his subsequent scholastic career presents an absolutely opposite picture from that reported of him before this experience.

Following his completion of his preparation and full acceptance in the Order, he became a teacher of theology and an active writer in the field. He taught in various universities, usually on the *Summa* of St. Thomas, was for a number of years in the college of Rome, and the latter part of his life was spent in a position to which he was appointed by the king much against his wish in the Portuguese University of Coimbra.

He was a prolific writer who covered a wide range of subjects. While theology was his major interest, he also wrote on metaphysics, having greatly influenced a number of the chief European philosophers, such as Descartes, Leibnitz and Spinoza, by his philosophical writing. He wrote on law and is called by James Brown Scott "the founder of the philosophy

of law in its various phases, including the law of nations," or international law. Scott also observes that Suarez could not find "any basis in law or any justification in reason for the exclusion of women from the exercise of legislative authority." In other words, says Scott, he "proclaims himself as a feminist in a day when feminism was hardly a dream, let alone a hope."

One of the major contributions of the book is the picture which it gives of the internal strains within the Catholic church, which despite its outward appearance of unity witnessed in this Post-Reformation period not a few bitter dissensions and controversies, particularly between the Dominican and Jesuit orders. Suarez was often called upon to defend himself, either before the Inquisition or at the Vatican itself. He was indeed at one time excommunicated for his unorthodoxy. Some of the questions upon which differences of opinion existed in that period are still unresolved, according to the author.

A book like this is exceedingly interesting reading for a Protestant. One cannot know how objective the author, who himself a Jesuit, is in his discussion of the controversy between his own Order and others. One gets an interesting index as to the probable bias of the author in the statement which he makes concerning the Lutheran doctrine of salvation by faith: "According to Martin Luther a man's good works, the human actions of free choice, could not gain merit in the future life. Eternal destiny could not hinge upon free will, for man had no free will. He taught, as Calvin likewise taught that this destiny was predetermined by God, and that man, therefore, could not change it in even the slightest degree by his actions. In this grotesque theory man was innately vicious, he was a slave who could not do otherwise than he did, who had only to believe firmly and then sin all he wished. It was as simple as that." (213-214.)

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Evanston, Ill.

Charles S. Braden.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE DUTCH NETHERLANDS

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ENGLISH CONGREGATIONAL CLASSIS, 1621-1635

By RAYMOND PHINEAS STEARNS. Chicago: American Society of Church History, 1940. *Studies in Church History, Vol. IV.* (Frank S. Brewer Prize Essay.) vii, 151 pages. \$2.00.

Those historians who persist in maintaining that the line between Presbyterian and Congregational Puritans did not really become distinct before 1649 should by all means read this book. In it they will find described in clear and orderly fashion an all-too-little-known episode in the history of the English Puritan emigrés in the Dutch Netherlands. Since the middle ages, English merchants living in that area had had their own clergy, and after the beginning of the revolt against Spain these English churchmen had been reinforced by the chaplains to the English troops aiding the young republic. Partly because the Dutch Protestant church was itself more thoroughly reformed than the Anglican one and partly because these

foreign posts, comparatively free from episcopal supervision, attracted men of advanced views who found difficulty in holding ordinary English livings, the incumbents of these places early became a markedly Puritan lot. At first they were not only willing but anxious to conform to the ecclesiastical pattern and practices of the Dutch Reformed Church. But after the repressive measures of James I directed against the Presbyterian Puritans in England led to the rise of the non-Separatist Independent (Congregational) movement of Henry Jacob and William Ames, the emigré clergy were so rapidly affected by this new outlook that when in 1621 they undertook to organize a classis of their own its constitution was definitely Congregational rather than Presbyterian. At that time the Calvinist George Abbot was Archbishop of Canterbury and the Anglican authorities gave their consent without being too curious about the new association. Furthermore, as a result of some highly diplomatic, if not disingenuous, manoeuvring the leaders of the English classis managed to secure the approval and consequently the financial support of the Dutch authorities.

No serious questions about the arrangement were raised until Laud became a member of the Privy Council in 1627. Thereafter the successive English representatives in the Low Countries were ordered to investigate and finally to suppress this nonconformist nuisance. At length in 1634 Sir William Boswell, English Ambassador to the Hague after 1632—from whose papers this story has largely been derived—succeeded in the complicated business of persuading the authorities of the Dutch Reformed Church to suppress the Puritan body. That this was possible at all was largely due to the fact that the Dutch Reformed clergy were already distinguishing between Presbyterian and Congregationalism politics, much to the disadvantage of the latter. A further proof of this clear distinction between Presbyterian and Congregationalist at this time may be seen in the assistance given to the repressive activities of the English Ambassador by John Paget, an English Presbyterian minister at Amsterdam who had refused to join the classis and who was so anxious to beat down his Congregational rivals that he was willing to serve as informer to the Anglican authorities of the government which kept him in exile. It is a sad story, reminiscent of the Frankfort troubles and of Presbyterian-Congregationalist clashes in the latter part of the preceding century, a story of Puritan disunity and contentiousness, it is true, but one which the historian of the Puritan movement can ill afford to ignore.

Professor Stearns has done his work well. Though most of his manuscript material came from the Boswell papers in the British Museum—from which he gives copious extracts in the appendices making up nearly half the book—he has also used other English collections and has searched the Dutch libraries for supplementary details. In organizing this material he has told the story in a clear and workmanlike way. Here and there a minor query might be raised—as on the suggestion (p. 75) that Paget's troubles with the rival Puritan faction, "publicly emphasized, probably for the first time, the differences between Congregationalists and Presbyterians," or on the intimation (p. 21) that the object of the schemes for feofees of impropriations was to *eject* orthodox Anglicans from their livings. But

these are peripheral matters which do not affect the body of the work. The publishing society and its editors are to be congratulated on securing such an excellent essay for the first Brewer award, though it may set a standard which will not easily be maintained.

Michigan State College.

M. M. Knappen.

CATHOLICS AND UNBELIEVERS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE

By R. R. PALMER, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1939.
227 pages. \$4.00.

The great literary duel between violet-robed abbés and *philosophes* in brown velvet that raged in the salons of France and the belviders of rural chateaux from 1740 to the Revolution has been accorded copious and brilliant study save in one aspect—the apologetic of the orthodox Catholics against militant unbelief. Lanfrey, Roustan, and Kingsley Martin in recent years, to say nothing of Beck, Lovejoy, Tallentyre, Morley, and Taine in the farther years, have reviewed with affection and finesse the ideology of the *philosophes*; but what English book could we find that revives with equal merit and success the thought of their opponents? Brémond stopped short of the eighteenth century and Monod is too sketchy. Hence this book is especially useful and interesting.

Several new observations in the first chapter indicate the author's broad conception and firm grasp on his theme. The supplanting of the church by the state in the affections and confidence of the French; the leniency of the censorship of books after Malesherbes' coming to power (1759); the artless tolerance of the orthodox for the Locke-Newton system from 1730 to 1751; the rigid intolerance of the very *philosophes* who made open-mindedness a shibboleth, as in the case of Voltaire and Fréron—these and other salutary emphases prepare us for some surprising disclosures in the following chapters.

They begin at once. The Jesuits, in bowing to the era's distaste for the supernatural and the ascetic made so many and such serious concessions as virtually to betray cardinal Christian positions—a fact quickly perceived by the Jansenists who treasured up every dubious and daring bit of compromise in the two volume collection of *Extraits des assertions dangereuses et pernicieuses* (1762). When the Jesuits were struggling against expulsion in these years, this book was published and materially injured them. No wonder! Molino's theory (1588) of the "state of pure nature" in which Adam was created enabled Collet, Camier, and Hooke to argue for optimistic views of human nature, for moderate "naturalistic" hedonism, for human perfectibility, for the independence of ethics over against the Christian revelation, for the unimportance of "philosophic sin," by which virtuous respectability could be claimed by infidels and even good atheists! (p. 44.)

Not only did such liberal Catholics compromise surprisingly on behalf of natural religion and morality, as well as the dispensability of reve-

lation and grace; chapter five reveals the extent to which they went in making terms with empiricism and materialism. Dr. Palmer believes that as late as 1751 many of the orthodox theologians were so naively sympathetic with the Locke-Newton ideology that they were insensitive to the cryptic plans of Diderot and the Encyclopedists for committing the church to a rationalist-naturalist philosophy. The scandal of the Abbé Prades' Sorbonne thesis of 1751 caused such an explosion that in 1752 the license of the Encyclopedia was revoked and from then on the war between the Jesuits and the Encyclopedists, as well as Jansenists and other conservative Catholics raged furiously. During the struggle the issues gradually shifted from the classic doctrines of natural religion (reason, nature, virtue, etc.) to those of crass materialism and atheism, as set forth in Helvetius' *De l'esprit* (1757) and Holbach's *Système de la Nature* (1770). By the early sixties, Voltaire's Deism was somewhat passé and Rousseau's romanticism was rising into vogue. The Catholic critique of the latter's "noble savage," "social compact," and "passional freedom" theories was acute and surprisingly modern; but in combatting materialism, the Catholic writers Hayer, Bouillier, Bergier, Lignac, and Monestier developed the dualism of Descartes and Malebranche into opinions very like Kantianism, even Transcendentalism (p. 144 on). Similar striking premonitions of later theories and schools found utterance during the long and fierce disputes. That concerning Creation and Casualty (chapter 7) called forth Robinet's and De Maillet's conjectures of geologic and organic evolution. Carra (*Système de la raison*, 1782) hinted an evolutionist Positivism which reminds one of the ideas of Spencer, Winwood Reade, and W. K. Clifford a century later.

The effort to sustain the authority of the church called forth theories yet more paradoxical. Abbé Hardouin, in spite of his indefatigable work in publishing ecclesiastical documents, so distrusted the radicals' use of historical criticism that he declared all writings prior to A. D. 1300 forgeries—saving the Vulgate and a few harmless classics like Homer! Hence only Catholic tradition is authoritative. His disciple, Berruyer, following a crude "form criticism" theory, modernized the Bible (*Histoire du peuple de Dieu*) so fancifully and colloquially that Sorbonne, the Archbishop, and Parlément condemned it to be burned. *En passant* he made the claim that Jesus delivered no explicit doctrines to his disciples; he simply established, by his miracles, his divine Sonship and the church in its tradition conceived, by the Holy Ghost, and forever conveys the true doctrine!

Yet the most ingenious apologetic failed to save the church from the Revolution. Palmer concludes that "the orthodox thinkers do not deserve quite so deep an oblivion as that into which they have fallen . . . [but] . . . none of them had the gifts of expression of Rousseau or Voltaire . . . [and] . . . they lived in a world that was visibly growing in wealth, in population, in productive capacity, in scientific knowledge, in the refinements of civilization; for all these developments they gave a much less satisfactory explanation than the *philosophes*." With such a fine start it would be a great service if he would now give us what we sadly need—

a co-ordinated and chronological history of all French religious thought of the eighteenth century—such as Leslie Stephen produced for England.

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Charles Lyttle.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN INDIANA

By THOMAS T. McAVOY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. 226 pages. \$2.25.

This book is one of the most interesting technical treatises which it has been our pleasure to read in a long time. Much of the material which it contains is derived from original sources not hitherto published and this fact makes the book much more valuable to the scholastic mind than would otherwise be the case. Dr. McAvoy has a fascinating style and makes the facts which he brings to our attention interesting in their own right. It is a volume which should be in the library of every student of American church history.

The Roman Catholic Church in Indiana is, of course, the oldest and the largest religious communion within the bounds of the state. Its history goes back to the original Jesuit missionaries who blazed the trail of discovery throughout the Central West long before the American Revolution. The traces of this early pioneer history are almost effaced today, but the author of this book makes it perfectly clear that they are not entirely obliterated. At Vincennes and in various other of the older settlements the Catholic influence has survived almost unimpaired. Father McAvoy very truthfully says that the Jesuit pioneers left behind them the seal of their work in the presence of a Roman Catholic congregation in practically every community where their influence extended. The old French settlers and the primitive life of the early pre-Revolutionary communities have largely disappeared, but the present status of the church is what it is primarily because of the work of those early heroes of the faith. The history covered in the volume dates from the most primitive background down to 1834, although the actual survey is primarily from 1789-1834. The book is well documented and our limited acquaintance with the field has not, at any rate, made it possible for us to discover any errors in fact.

Butler University School of Religion.

Frederick D. Kershner.

THE RISE OF THE SOCIAL GOSPEL IN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM, 1865-1915

By CHARLES HOWARD HOPKINS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. 352 pages. \$3.00.

Serious students of the history of the social gospel will read this volume with a sense of appreciation to its author for having summarized, analyzed, evaluated, and in other ways called attention to an abundance of more or less neglected and evanescent literature which has flowed from the facile pens of the social gospel champions. When it is supplemented

by the author's forthcoming *Bibliography of Social Christianity*, the work may be regarded as a major contribution to the understanding of American religion.

Although the social gospel is declared to be "America's most unique contribution to the great ongoing stream of Christianity" (p. 3), and "American Protestantism's response to the challenge of modern industrial society" (p. 318), it is not treated as a phenomenon without antecedents. For the most part, however, the background ramifications are omitted or presented only briefly. The principal theme is that Protestantism, stimulated by socialism and the labor movement, reacted against the ethics and practices of capitalism in the industrial situation found in the United States after the Civil War. Such social problems as crime, immigration, and race were secondary and there was little concern over war, imperialism, or the use of force. "The social gospel began largely as a response of religious leaders to the challenges of socialism and labor" (p. 78).

The table of contents suggests that the book has been outlined in a rather arbitrary manner. It is divided into four parts. Social Christianity was born in the period between 1865-1880; it was a youthful movement between 1880 and 1890. The social gospel "comes of age" in the decade of 1890-1900, it reached maturity in the period of 1900-1915. There is no intimation that decadence sets in thereafter. In its maturity the social gospel was recognized officially. It was incorporated into denominational pronouncements, into the institutional church, into social service commissions, and into the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It became realistic. The closing sentence of the "Conclusion" is "The social gospel has become an integral part of the thought and action of the Church, and one of the hopeful beacons in the present darkness that has descended upon mankind is the seriousness of effort and the genuine progress being made toward that persistently elusive goal—an adequate Christian Sociology" (p. 327). This is a somewhat surprising end to an excellent work. It reveals a commendable faith.

Kalamazoo College.

Raymond L. Hightower.

ANGLICAN HUMANITARIANISM IN COLONIAL NEW YORK

By FRANK J. KLINGBERG. Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society. x, 295 pages. \$3.00.

Secular historians have neglected or treated casually the contribution of Anglican missions to the development of American culture. It is only in recent years that the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.) have been recognized as one of the most fruitful sources of material for the study of colonial life. Doctor Klingberg has given years of study to the work of the Church of England prior to the Revolutionary War; and he has chosen New York for this particular treatise because it illustrates so well the varied character of the humanitarian effects of the S. P. G. and other benevolent organizations of the eighteenth century. He declares that the significance of the S. P. G., the S. P. C. K., and similar societies should be appraised by the fact that they

functioned in a civilization which has in all respects of human endeavor played a major part. If they "contributed to making this Anglo-American world more humane, to mitigating the effects of expansion on backward people, or stimulated and extended intellectual development, or if they aided or retarded imperialism, they were doubly significant because they were operating in one of the most virile of modern civilisations."

Every year from its incorporation in 1701, a sermon was preached before the S. P. G. in London by some distinguished churchman—usually a bishop. These sermons were annually published by the Society, with an abstract of the proceedings and with news items from the missionary field gathered from the letters and reports received. Some seventy-five of the printed abstracts and sermons were produced before the Revolution. A review of the annual sermons shows how strongly the leading divines of the century emphasised the Christianising of the Indian and the Negro. Bishop John Williams of Chichester, who preached the annual sermon of 1706, said that the Indian should aim at converting the Indian by exemplifying the best in his own life. There were many specific suggestions in these sermons, such as instructions for opening schools, preparing laborers for the field. Bishop Joseph Butler, in 1739, said that the whites "must consider the natives as 'of one family with ourselves,' and instruct them 'in our common salvation.'" Several of the sermons deplored the opposition of the slave-owners to the conversion of the Negroes; in fact, some went so far as to condemn the slave traffic altogether.

Doctor Klingberg devotes a chapter to the very considerable effort made among the Indians in the Mohawk field—an effort regarding which there exists a good deal of printed material, yet strangely slighted by the average historian. Here good and energetic men like William Andrews, Thomas Barclay, John Milne, Henry Barclay, and John Ogilvie, expended the best that was in them, notwithstanding disheartening obstacles. The restless, roving and utterly unintellectual disposition of the native was an almost insuperable barrier. Furthermore, the missionaries had to contend with the opposition of greedy white traders who wished to keep the Indians in a primitive state so as to exploit them and who corrupted them with rum and firearms. Lastly, the missionaries were opposed by the political intrigues of the French and their subtle emissaries. All told, it was a discouraging but none the less conscientious struggle.

A chapter is given to Sir William Johnson, Indian agent among the Mohawks, and a zealous churchman. He was an aggressive member of the S. P. G.; and his "prodigious effort . . . to have the Indians christianised and educated stamps him, even if partly self-interested, as an outstanding proponent of Anglicanism in the British imperial world."

The program for Negroes in colonial New York occupies considerable space. The author finds that the effort for enlightenment of the Negro, as fostered by the English church, introduced an ameliorative agency between master and slave. "The greater the missionary's success, the more difficult it became to regard the Negro merely as a piece of property." The school in New York City, begun under Mr. Elias Neau and connected with Trinity Church parish, made splendid progress from the outset; and by the time of the Revolution, it had become so strongly established that

even the destructive effects of the war could bring about only a temporary interruption in Negro Christianisation and education. The work in the various towns and rural areas of the province is reviewed. It is concluded that the Anglican contributions to humane interest in the Negro were "weighty, long sustained, based on first-hand experience, . . . and like other initial and small beginnings of reform, grew in scope from generation to generation."

Three notable S. P. G. annual sermons are reprinted in the volume—those of Bishop William Fleetwood of St. Asaph (1711), Bishop Thomas Secker of Oxford (1741), and Bishop William Warburton of Gloucester (1766). There is an excellent bibliography. The work is scholarly and sound; and Doctor Klingberg and the Church Historical Society are to be thanked and congratulated for their labor.

Holy Cross Rectory,
Miami, Florida.

Edgar Legare Pennington.

HEAVEN ON EARTH

A PLANNED MORMON SOCIETY

By WILLIAM JOHN McNIFF. Oxford, Ohio: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1940. viii, 262 pages. \$3.00.

Here is a book that everyone should have who is interested either in the life of Brigham Young (d. 1877), or Utah history between 1847-1877, or Mormonism in general. With a sustained objectivity and balanced judgment rarely found among authors writing in the field of Mormonism, Mr. McNiff describes and analyzes important aspects of Mormon culture during the first thirty years of Utah history. Each of the eight chapters is quite complete in itself; the subtitles which follow indicate the major divisions of the book: Mormonism, Mormon Economic Co-operation, The Function of Intelligence, Education, Various Group Influences, Theatre, and Music. This book is thoroughly annotated, contains an index, and has nine pages of bibliography.

Joseph Smith (d. 1844), at the request of a Chicago newspaper editor, summarized Mormon theology of his day in thirteen "articles" or statements of faith, which are the nearest to a formal creed that Mormonism has ever approached. The tenth of the Articles of Faith reads in part as follows: "We believe . . . that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaical glory." When the early Mormon tilled the soil and cultivated the wilderness he believed that, whether dead or alive when Jesus returned, he would be given his land as an "eternal inheritance" if he remained faithful. It is true that the early Mormon, like many of his Protestant contemporaries, sang about a holy city in the sky not built by hands, but his heart was not in such songs which were borrowed from the older pre-Mormon hymnals. He was interested primarily in "Zion," "The New Jerusalem," or "The Holy City," to be built in Jackson County, Missouri. And it was to the Mormon Zion that Jesus eventually would return.

From Joseph Smith's day until the present, the devout Mormon has believed that his people will build the new Jerusalem and that eventually this good earth shall become "celestial" and be the eternal abode of Christ and his Saints. Thus "the meek shall inherit the earth" is the key passage of scripture in Mormon theology.

In Heaven on Earth Mr. McNiff has attempted to show the social, cultural, and economic expressions of the above phase of Mormon theology during the days when Brigham Young led the church into its promised land (the Great Basin) after the older settlers of Missouri and Illinois made it clear that no Mormon Zion was desired in their states.

The reader unfamiliar with early Mormon History will regret that Mr. McNiff did not give more attention to the general outline of L. D. S. church history; readers unfamiliar with present day Mormonism will regret that more attention was not given by the author to show the carry-over into later Mormonism of various interests either inaugurated or directed by the church during the lifetime of Brigham Young. For example: The Salt Lake Theatre continued to serve Utah up to the present decade; the Mutual Improvement Association, which was inaugurated under the direction of Brigham Young, still is given the task of providing the social and recreational activities of the Mormon youth; the Z. C. M. I. still is operating as one of the larger department stores in the intermountain West.

The author apparently has read all the available printed materials of the period he covers, but has overlooked an abundance of primary sources. The L. D. S. Church archives in Salt Lake City which, apparently, were not consulted, are far superior in quantity even to the great Berrian collection of Mormon literature in the New York Public Library. But perhaps the writer should be excused on the grounds that no one will be able to avail himself of the scores of Ph. D. and M. A. theses in American universities, the hundreds of pioneer diaries and the numerous small but excellent private collections of L. D. S. literature, until someone prepares a comprehensive bibliographical guide to Mormon literature. However, until that time, the church archives in Salt Lake City must remain the starting point for all serious students of Mormonism.

There are quite a number of minor errors in the book, but they are of such a nature that the general excellence of the volume is not impaired: San Pete is a county, not a town (p. 23); Joseph Smith did not lead his people out of Illinois (p. 26); "bishop" is not an office within the Aaronic priesthood (p. 27); there is never an "election of officers" in the Mormon church (p. 27); "delegates" are never sent to conferences (p. 28); missionaries no longer "work their way." Practically all the 2000 missionaries kept in the field are young men of college age, and "rebellious spirits" are never chosen (p. 29); "Morman" should read "Mormon" (p. 35); on page 41 the author has made the common error of confusing the Tabernacle with the Temple; "William Richards" should read "Willard Richards" (p. 95); "Haynes" should read "Hayne" (p. 152); "D. C. Calder" should read "D. O. Calder" (p. 174).

Dr. John R. Park and Karl Maeser (p. 200) were interested in education before their conversion to Mormonism, but they did little in the field of pioneer education until encouraged by Brigham Young. Park was employed to teach in the private school erected for Young's family, and Maeser was chosen by Brigham Young to head his Academy at Provo, Utah. The latter institution became the present Brigham Young University.

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Daryl Chase.

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND MAINE CONGREGATIONALISTS

By CALVIN MONTAGUE CLARK. Bangor, Maine: published by the author, 1940. xii, 198 pages. \$1.50.

That social action has not been of recent origin among the Congregationalists is a platitude to anyone who is acquainted with the record of this denomination in connection with anti-slavery agitation. Congregationalists everywhere, almost without exception, were active, and often prominently active, in the struggle.

But this is a sweeping generalization. To put teeth into it, what it needed is a solid substratum of historical facts. Dr. Clark, in his carefully documented work—the result of patient research in a subject hitherto only inadequately treated—has produced such a detailed historical study as far as Maine Congregationalism is concerned.

The first period covers the thirties of the nineteenth century, during which the anti-slavery sentiment in the churches organized itself into various societies, advocating such diverse programs as the repatriation of the Negroes in Africa (Liberia), opposition to slavery by merely moral religious, or in some cases political action, and finally by immediate abolition of slavery either with or without compensation to the slave-owners. Almost all these groups felt that slavery was inconsistent with the profession of Christianity. Dr. Clark confesses that as he "has proceeded with his task, he has come to have a profound sympathy with, but a somewhat modified admiration for, that coryphaeus of abolitionists, William Lloyd Garrison" (p. viii).

Divisions III and IV deal with the forties, and describe the action taken by the various anti-slavery societies, and the fifties, during which the storm was gathering. The church was faced with the tragic alternative: either obey the laws of the government, particularly the revised Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, or defy the government in extending aid to escaped Negro slaves. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 increased this tension even more. On the whole, Congregational churches continued to extend aid to slaves, and by organizing emigration into newly opened territories of the Louisiana Purchase and the Oregon region helped to defeat the pro-slavery elements.

This excellent study is a valuable contribution to the subject.

The Chicago Theological Seminary.

Matthew Spinka.

THE LIFE OF J. H. W. STUCKENBERG,
THEOLOGIAN, PHILOSOPHER, SOCIALIST

By JOHN O. EVJEN. Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Co., 1938. 536 pages. \$3.00.

When Mrs. Mary G. Stuckenberg died in 1934, she left behind a vast quantity of material which she had collected for a biography of her late husband, J. H. W. Stuckenberg. Her will directed that this should be entrusted to a lifelong friend, Dr. John O. Evjen, dean and professor in Carthage College. It was her hope that he might accomplish the task she had set herself but had never been able to complete.

After nearly three years of labor, Dr. Evjen finally succeeded in condensing the material of his sources into the first draft of a work that was three times as large as the present biography. Once more he began the job of eliminating and rewriting until he had reduced his manuscript to its present length. Even so it yielded a large volume.

Yet such is the interest surrounding Stuckenberg and such the skill of Dr. Evjen in presenting his life story against a background of history on two Continents that the reader's interest never once lags through all the five hundred pages. In everyone of its chapters the book reflects the rich experience and mellowed wisdom both of its subject and its author.

Born in Osnabrück, Germany, in 1835, J. H. W. Stuckenberg was brought to this country at the age of two and reared on a farm and in towns of the Middle West, principally Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. He entered Wittenberg College in 1852. Sectarian colleges and "universities" were in their heyday then. Oberlin was the largest college in the country with 1,188 students, though it had only 23 instructors compared to Harvard's 45. A university library considered itself lucky if it possessed 10,000 volumes. Greek and Latin were still the mainstays of the curriculum, and a theological course could be finished in a year.

Immediately after graduating from the seminary at Wittenberg, Stuckenberg accepted a call into the ministry at Davenport, Iowa. After a year of work he resigned in discouragement and decided to continue his theological education at the University of Halle. Stuckenberg came to Germany in the golden age of her culture, when the professor, not the dictator, was the symbol of the nation. At the feet of famous teachers like Tholuck, Julius Mueller, and Hupfeld he drank in his first draughts of German theology and philosophy and became a lifetime convert. The glowing account of his university career is evidently a labor of love on the part of the biographer, who is himself a product of German universities.

Returning to the United States, Stuckenberg for a short time became pastor of three congregations in Erie, Pennsylvania, before enlisting as a chaplain in the Army of the Potomac. After the war came a second year of study in Germany at the universities of Berlin and Tübingen, followed by a pastorate of one year in Indianapolis.

Stuckenberg now took an active part in the great controversy that eventually split the Lutheran church of the East into the General Synod and

the General Council. He championed the cause of the Synod, which represented a mixture of liberalizing and Puritanic tendencies. Stuckenberg, for instance, favored co-operation with the Reformed church groups, yet he inclined to a strict observance of the Sabbath. His wife was one of the organizers of the W. C. T. U.

He came out of the smoke and fire of the battle honored by friend and foe as a formidable adversary. He had published his first important book (it maintained that the Augsburg Confession represented Melancthon's, not Luther's views); he had received and refused calls to six different churches and been appointed professor at his alma mater, Wittenberg.

After seven years of teaching, Europe once more exerted its attractions. What was intended as a stay of one year became lengthened to a residence of fourteen years. During that time he was the first permanent pastor of the American church of Berlin, while the Stuckenberg home became a social center for the American colony. Here also he wrote regular articles for theological journals in America and began those studies in Christian sociology which were to make him one of the pioneers in a new movement.

From his first publications on this subject in 1880 to his last and greatest book, *Sociology, the Science of Human Society*, published a month his death in 1903, a stream of articles and volumes poured from his pen in the interests of the social gospel. The last eight years of his life—spent in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in order to be near the Boston library—were dedicated to study and writing in this cause which he believed to be the cause of civilization. The end and aim of the Christian religion, he believed, should be to christianize society, to build up not only the church, but the Kingdom of God, which embraces all the affairs and interests of men.

In the spring of 1903 Stuckenberg took one of his regular trips abroad, this time to London, where a sudden illness and death overtook him. His body was cremated, and the remains were eventually conveyed to the National Cemetery at Gettysburg. Upon his monument are graven the terse words: "Chaplain 145. Pa. Vol's." Below this are hewn in large letters the words of his favorite motto: "Now we see through a glass darkly," but we see!

Northwestern College,
Watertown, Wisconsin.

Elmer C. Kiessling.

FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE

A STUDY OF MENNONITE MIGRATIONS RESULTING FROM THE WORLD WAR

By SANFORD CALVIN YODER, Goshen, Indiana: The Mennonite Historical Society of Goshen College, 1940. 300 pages. \$2.25.

Few religious groups have suffered as much oppression through the centuries because of their religious convictions as the Mennonites.

Their insistence upon a free and voluntary church entirely separated from the state at a time when powerful state ecclesiastical establishments demanded uniformity of religious faith, and their opposition to war in a period of growing militarism, frequently subjected them to drastic limitations of their civil liberties and religious freedom at the hands of autocratic state governments and intolerant state churches. In fact much of their history during the past four hundred years has been a trek from one country to another in search of freedom of conscience.

Tis book, *For Conscience Sake*, as its subtitle suggests, concerns itself largely with the experiences of the Mennonites of southern Russia, who had originally migrated to the steppes of south Russia from Holland by way of Prussia during the latter part of the eighteenth century upon invitation of the Empress Catherine, who was anxious to locate industrious farmers on her newly conquered lands along the Black Sea. Here they were promised most liberal terms of settlement by the autocratic Empress—free land, control of their own schools, use of their native language, large degree of local political autonomy, and military exemption—privileges far more liberal than those enjoyed by the native Russians themselves. In course of time the Mennonites developed a number of flourishing colonies with an economic prosperity and a degree of culture far above those of the surrounding natives; and in spite of a loss of about one third of their number during the seventies of the past century by migration to America because of a loss of some of their earlier privileges, the original eight thousand immigrants had grown to about one hundred thousand at the time of the World War.

The Bolshevik Revolution, following the War, with its drive against all religious faith, again set the Mennonites out in search of a new home. Only about one fourth of them escaped; the rest had to remain. Between 1923 and 1930 about 20,000 of them, aided by the American Mennonites, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company which agreed to transport them from Russia to Canada on credit to the extent of several millions of dollars, as well as the liberal Canadian government, finally found their way to the western provinces of Canada.

Especially harrowing was the experience of some five thousand Mennonite exiles, who, in 1929, had found their way to Moscow from various parts of Russia in the desperate hope that they too might find a way to escape from the Red Terrors. But by this time the door to Canada had been closed because of the economic depression that had gripped the country during the middle twenties. The door to the United States had never been open. The whole world suddenly became interested in the plight of these homeless refugees. The metropolitan press gave the incident wide publicity. Finally, the German government offered them a temporary asylum in Germany. President Hindenburg contributed two hundred thousand marks from his own private purse to the cause. The various Mennonite Relief agencies in America, Holland, and Germany finally arranged for the migration of the whole group to the Gran Chaco of Paraguay and to Brazil where they found a hearty welcome, and where they began all over again the task of carving out homes for themselves in the primitive wilderness

of South America as their forebears had done so often in other parts of the world before them.

Dr. Yoder, former president of Goshen College, having been closely connected with the American relief agencies that sponsored these migrations, is well qualified to tell this story. The book is well written, in an interesting style, and is the first appearance of the complete story in print.

Bluffton College,
Bluffton, Ohio.

C. Henry Smith.

ROSANNA OF THE AMISH

By JOSEPH W. YODER. Huntingdon, Penna.: The Yoder Publishing House.
\$2.00

An Amishman has written a novel about his own people describing Amish life, customs, and spirit—a novel which is a religious document as well. Rosanna was an Irish Catholic girl who was orphaned at the age of five days. Adopted by a maiden Amish woman, she grew to maturity among these “plain” people. Without sentimental gush, Mr. Yoder tells his story with quiet persuasion. This work is more a social document than a novel, for it describes Amish weddings, housekeeping, worship, funerals, pow-wowing with naïve artlessness. Here for the first time Amish worship is sympathetically and accurately described, and these details make *Rosanna of the Amish* the best and most authentic account of the Amish that has yet appeared.

Allentown, Pennsylvania.

John Joseph Stoudt.